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11 January 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 48



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PARTY AND STATE

PREMIER CALLED TO TASK FOR 'UNDEMOCRATIC' PRACTICES

Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 25, 1 Nov 79 p 41

[Article by Zhou Jiachang [0719 0857 2490]: "An Open Letter to Premier Hua Guofeng"]

[Text] Premier Hua Guofeng:

On the eve of National Day, I learned from the newspapers that you sincerely listen to and accept the ideas of the masses, personally answer people's letters, and set an example of opposing worship of the individual. When you visited the Beijing Red Star Experimental Pig Farm you ordered that the items once used by you, which were displayed in a special glass box at the farm, be removed. Moreover, you directed that "from now on, similar cases should be handled this way in order to foster our party's superior tradition."

I had mixed feelings when I read similar reports. Looking back, weren't the great calamities and sufferings the Chinese people experienced in the past due to "individual worship" and "lack of democracy?" If we want to prevent the tragedy of "10 years of disaster" from being repeated, we should thoroughly implement democracy and a legal system in China. China is a country deeply influenced by a tradition of feudalism. The early implementation of democracy and a legal system in a country like China requires great effort from the people, on the one hand, and the far-reaching vision and spirit of the leaders of this country on the other. China's leaders have witnessed those 10 years of calamities and disasters. The majority experienced the sufferings personally. Therefore, most of them are able to recognize that "individual worship" and "lack of democracy" are harmful not only to the nation and its people, but are also harmful to the ruling party and its leaders. As the highest leader of the nation, you were able to set an example by opposing the re-creation of "individual worship." You have greatly pleased the overseas Chinese who ardently love their motherland.

Since you are brave in accepting criticism, I would like to offer some ideas.

At a press conference on 7 October, you mentioned that the "gang of four" will be put on trial next year. You also mentioned that they will not be sentenced to death. The question of whether or not they will receive the death penalty is the prerogative of the court. Although you are Chairman of the Party and Premier of the State Council, you have no authority to make decisions in this case. This is an infringement on your part on the independence of our judicial system. After the 3d Plenary Session of the Central Committee, the Chinese Communist Party vigorously advocated democracy and a legal system. A series of laws was also enacted by the Fifth National People's Congress. But if the authority to determine whether or not the defendants should be sentenced to death does not rest with the court, and instead the party replaces the law, wouldn't the law become a symbol of "false democracy" and a "false legal system?" For this reason, I earnestly hope that you will admit your error, criticize yourself, and set a law-abiding example before the entire people. Your self-criticism will absolutely not lower your prestige. It will only elevate your position and image among the people.

In the past 2 or 3 years, the Chinese Communist Party has practiced a series of democratic and open policies. This has improved the bad situations caused by the "gang of four" and has created international goodwill and favorable criticism. But the Chinese communists also did several improper things and created a bad effect. For example, the Chinese Communist Government prohibited the circulation of five patriotic periodicals to China. ZHENGMING [Contend] and QISHINIANDAI [The Seventies] are among the five. The effect of this has been so bad that many overseas Chinese are very much disappointed. Recently the Chinese communists have been stepping up their work on the united front to Taiwan. Ye Jianying once said Hong Kong will become a bridge between Taiwan and the mainland. But the patriotic periodicals in Hong Kong were not allowed to be circulated to the mainland. How then can Hong Kong be a bridge of cultural exchange between Taiwan and the mainland? How can people in all circles of Taiwan not suspect the sincerity of the "united front" of the Chinese communists? I hope that, after attending to the numerous daily state affairs, you can look into this situation in order to correct errors, improve work, and make the undertakings of China's modernization prosper daily.

With best regards,

Zhou Jiachang from Hong Kong
22 October 1979

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

HUA RESISTS EFFORTS TO PLACE HIM ABOVE OTHERS

Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 25, 1 Nov 79 pp 42-43

[Article by Shi Huizhi [0670 1920 0037]: "Hua Guofeng Opposes the Creation of Another God"]

[Text]

Refuses to Talk About Household Affairs

Before Hua Guofeng started out on his journey to visit Western Europe, England, France, Germany, and Italy, people from those countries and foreign reporters were anxious to know about the personal and family life of the Chinese Communist Party chairman and premier of the State Council. But surprisingly Hua did not talk about himself. He politely declined to say anything about his family. He said, "Our party emphasizes collective leadership. Therefore we don't plan to, nor do we want to, talk about our personal lives." "If I talk a good deal about the members of my family, particularly about my children, people at home and abroad will know them. This will cause them a lot of inconveniences."

In order to avoid causing this kind of inconvenience, Hua usually has a very strict and prudent attitude toward "managing the household." Unlike the wives of other leaders in China, his wife has never appeared in public with him. It is said Madame Hua works in a foreign trade office. Once someone suggested that she be reassigned to work in the State Council or in some other organization directly under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. But Hua Guofeng resolutely turned it down. The current "first lady" of China also maintains her virtue of self-denial and simplicity. She rides a bicycle to and from work. Occasionally when she has to go out on errands, she will follow the crowd in a line waiting for the bus. She never rides in the high-class Red Flag limousine of the nation's top leader.

Not too long ago, the person in charge of the "Ship of Sino-Japanese Friendship" arranged for some seats for the dependents of high-ranking Chinese communist officials so that they could visit Japan. Naturally, Hua Guofeng's family was among them. It was said that many of the vice premier's dependents did go, but neither Madam Hua nor her children went.

Takes the Lead in Opposing Worship of the Individual

Recently both within and outside the party, everybody has been saying that "Chairman Hua has taken the lead in opposing the worship of the individual and has set a good example in order to restore and foster the good traditions of the party."

This is what happened. In early January of this year Hua Guofeng received a letter from Wang Liben [3769 4539 2609], a student at the Central Party School. He expressed his opinion on the matter of displaying in a special glass box the items used by Hua during his inspection of the Beijing Red Star Experimental Pig Farm. After receiving this letter, Hua immediately added some instructions on the letter and sent it to Lin Hujia [2651 0039 0502], first secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee, requesting that Lin send people to the farm for an investigation and take corrective action: "Take corrective action on my personal items displayed at the farm." On 16 January, Hua personally wrote a reply to Wang Liben; "The idea you submitted is a good one. I have asked the comrades of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee to strengthen the ideological thinking of the comrades at the Red Star Pig Farm and remove the display items. From now on we should use the same policy on similar matters in order to foster our party's high traditions." On 29 September, GUANGMING RIBAO published an editorial praising this matter: "This is something that should be encouraged!"

The fact that Hua Guofeng handled this matter properly was not due to a momentary inspiration or impulse. It was a beacon reflected from his daily deeds. The bulletin of the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee disclosed that when the committee discussed how to strengthen the system of centralized democracy, Hua took the lead in proposing that collective leadership be strengthened and that propaganda in periodicals and literary works devote more praise to the masses of peasants, workers, and soldiers and to the praise of the party and the senior proletarian revolutionaries. He himself should be praised less. Responding to his proposal, the meeting adopted this decision: From now on, within the party, all will be called "comrades" instead of by their official titles. Individual ideas from anyone, including the highest leader, will not be called "directives." Therefore, after the 3d Plenum, in the newspapers, the phrase "brilliant leader" was no longer added to Hua's name. Hua is placed after the party Central Committee; references are to "the party Central Committee and Chairman Hua." Hua does not arbitrarily appear in the news and literary articles. This is inseparable from his workstyle and his way of thinking--opposition to stressing himself and creating another god of him.

The Peach and the Plum Do Not Speak, Yet a Path Is Worn Beneath Them

In the past the Chinese Communist Government engaged in "big trees" and "special trees." It was carried too far. They suffered too great a loss

from modern superstitions. In the first year or two after smashing the "gang of four," the Chinese communist media overpropagandized Hua. At that time, personnel in charge of propaganda continued the same methods used by the "gang of four" and gave Hua the title of "brilliant leader" and placed him above the party by saying "Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee," etc. There was a tendency toward creating another god. Of course, it was not Hua who was to blame. In fact, Hua brought this subject up several times. The fact that Hua was able to draw a lesson from this and oppose the re-creation of individual worship is his strong point. He should be praised for his willingness to practice what he preaches. But it is not hard for one to do a bit of good; what is hard is to do good all one's life. This is the most difficult thing!

The author of this article hopes that Hua Guofeng can continue to insist on opposing worship of the individual, opposing special privileges, and raising his ideological level in order to restore the damaged prestige and the discarded high communist workstyle. It was recently said that, under the direction of Wang Dongxing [3076 2639 5281], a tall building will be built at Dongnan Hai to house the key leaders of the party Central Committee and their dependents. The area reserved for Hua and his family is very large. There is nothing wrong with that. But one thing should be considered: His residence should not take up too much space, lest his courtyard is so deep that he is far away from the people!

In the 3 years that he has been in office, and particularly this year, Hua has taken pains and put forth efforts to oppose the re-creation of the worship of the individual. He is strict with himself. He emphasizes quality and does not care for formalities. His prestige is growing higher and higher in the party and in the whole country. He enjoys immense popular support. Sima Qian once said, "The peach and the plum do not speak, yet a path is worn beneath them." How true these words are.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

MARSHAL YE'S SPEECH REVIEWING PAST 30 YEARS PRAISED

Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 25, 1 Nov 7y pp 44-46

[Article by Qin Huaihe [4440 3232 3109]: "Ye Jianying's Speech and a ZHENGMING Article"]

[Excerpts] "Carry Forward the Cause and Forge Ahead Into the Future" and Tell the Truth

Indeed, people in the motherland are "living in the great time when we are carrying forward the cause and forging ahead into the future." What Marshal Ye has said is outstanding. This can be considered the first true remarks in the new long march since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the first and unprecedented self-criticism in 30 years, and the true gospel of carrying forward the cause and forging ahead into the future!

In the past, a lot of similar, ritual speeches by Chinese communist leaders were published by newspapers as editorials. But they were all superficial compliments. To be frank, they were no different from the palace-style writings of the feudal dynasties. When talking about favorable situations, there was prosperity everywhere. When talking about adverse situations, these were just slightly touched upon. But when Marshal Ye talked, he told the truth based on the facts, frankly and openly admitting: "The road we traveled was not all smooth; there were ups and downs. Compared with the difficulties and efforts of all the people and the superiority of the socialist system, our achievements have not been sufficient." And he unprecedentedly pointed out that in the 10 years of the Cultural Revolution, due to the destruction caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the Chinese people suffered "a shocking calamity."

It is unusual for this kind of speech to come from a venerable founding member of the Communist Party, a first vice chairman, and chairman of the National People's Congress. This vividly reflects the realistic spirit of the Chinese communists in the midst of bringing order out of chaos.

But what surprised me more was that I was able to read a brilliant article with penetrating judgment, "A Lesson of 30 Years," by a Mr Lu [4151] and

published in a private publication in such a remote place as Hong Kong and Kowloon. The first time I read it, 3 days ago, I was greatly affected by Mr Lu's sound analysis on and open attitudes toward the important Chinese communist political events that have taken place in the past 30 years. This is basically comparable to Marshal Ye's speech.

Both Marshal Ye in his speech and Mr Lu in his article ardently affirmed the prosperous situations that existed in the first 7 or 8 years from the founding of the PRC until the antirightist struggle in 1957. One used the term "brilliant achievements" in praise, and the other used "brilliant movement" as a description. Both made an appropriate analysis and appraisal regarding the important events that took place during the 10 years from the ending of the antirightist struggle to the onset of the Cultural Revolution in 1966, when the Chinese communists traveled toward the left. For example, regarding the antirightist struggle, one said, "It committed the error of expansion," while the other said, "It entailed too much." Regarding the Great Leap Forward, both gave a negative evaluation. They considered that the errors lay in "issuance of confused orders," "proneness to boasting and exaggeration," and "distorted communism." Regarding the struggle to criticize Peng Dehuai at the Lushan meeting, one said, "It improperly set off a struggle against so-called right opportunism," while the other said, "Both Peng Dehuai and other people who dared to tell the truth were purged and were labeled 'right opportunists.'" Regarding the series of remedial measures for the front-line work adopted by the central government under the direction of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping during the 4 years from 1962 through 1965, both considered this as the "insurance of a speedy restoration and development of our national economy." Their general appraisals on the "disaster" of the 10-year Cultural Revolution are basically in agreement.

In his speech on the 3-year period after the smashing of the "gang of four," Marshal Ye said, "Under the leadership of our party, people throughout the country have overcome all difficulties, accomplished a great number of difficult tasks, and obtained brilliant results. Particularly after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee decided to shift the focus of national work on construction of socialist modernization, the situation developed even better." He added that the Third Plenary Session "clearly affirmed the unshakable principle of Marxist theory--that practice is the only criterion for judging truth--brought up the guiding principles of liberating thoughts, starting up the machinery, seeking truth from facts, uniting as one and looking forward. It also restored the ideological thought of dialectical materialism. This is the most basic way to bring order out of chaos." The article "The Lesson of 30 Years" also pointed out; "Our country has undergone a great change and has scored a series of achievements." "This is the result of the common struggle jointly achieved by the party and the nation under the 19-word guiding principles--liberate ourselves from old ideas, start up the machinery, seek truth from facts, and unite ourselves as one and look forward."

"The players in the chess game may be confused but the spectators are not." This is fortunate for the Chinese communist, and a good omen for the prosperity of the nation.

If we carefully compare the speech and the article, their views on some of the problems are somewhat different, and each has its strong points. Regarding the problem of lines, Marshal Ye considers, "By and large, our line was correct most of the time during the past 30 years." In the 10 years after 1957, the only error committed was "left," but the line had not been formed yet. The "radical left line" in the 10 years of the Cultural Revolution was "intentionally cooked up and promoted by Lin Biao and the 'gang of four.'"

In criticizing Mao, when the problem discussed was something Mao should be accountable for or was his own error, Marshal Ye was very tactful in his speech, and the words he used were very mild. For example, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" "used the prestige of the revolutionary leaders to stir up a religious fever; referring to himself as 'the highest in holding flat,' 'the closest in following instructions,' 'always loyal to the leader,' and 'always acting according to the established guiding principles.'" "At that time they had maintained their legal positions in the party Central Committee." But why were they "used" and why had they "maintained" high positions? Who should be blamed besides for their double-dealings?

Regarding the cause of the Cultural Revolution, it was interrelated with the abovementioned two problems. According to Marshal Ye's speech, "the starting point of Mao's initiating the Great Cultural Revolution was to fight revisionism and prevent revisionism." His motive was good. But due to his lack of proper understanding and the wrong methods, he was used by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." This, therefore, led to harmful results.

Regarding Liu Shaoqi, Ye's speech affirmed the series of works that Liu participated in, particularly the line of the "Eight Greats." But he did not bring up the question of Liu Shaoqi's rehabilitation.

Regarding the question of the "three red flags," he denigrated the "Great Leap Forward," but he approved the general line and the people's communes.

Today's Words and Those of Tomorrow

In general, Marshal Ye's speech is objective and factual. Based on knowledge and on the current situation of bringing order out of chaos, Marshal Ye's voice came from the highest level of the Chinese communists. The critique of Marshal Ye's speech in the bulletin of the Fourth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee is convincing. The speech really looks back on the entire course of the 30 years since the founding

of the nation. This will have a long-term significance in guiding our future work. This, of course, does not indicate that the speech is a final conclusion. The speech is unprecedented, but not without comparable ones to come. The work of bringing order out of chaos is still going on. Following the deep discussion of the standard for truth, the level of knowledge of the Chinese communists still has to be raised and evaluation of some major events has to be continued. In fact, this was mentioned in Marshal Ye's speech. For example, regarding the appraisal of the Cultural Revolution, Marshal Ye said that this was a "preliminary basic evaluation; it has yet to be formally summarized through special meetings at the proper time."

Therefore, I think we should look upon Marshal Ye's speech of today by today's standards rather than tomorrow's. We should also not demand that Marshal Ye talk about subjects today that can only be talked about tomorrow. For example, in regard to Liu Shaoqi, all signs indicate that the Chinese communists will publicly rehabilitate Liu Shaoqi and restore his honor. This will be disclosed soon. Thus, it was quite normal for Marshal Ye to only affirm Liu's work without mentioning the question of rehabilitation. Take Mao, for another example. This is related to the important events of the Chinese communist's political situation. To adhere to Mao Zedong Thought is one of the "four basic principles" emphasized by the Chinese communists. The speech by Marshal Ye was a review of the past 30 years, and it was written as a summarization of experiences. It was natural not to look into Mao's personal responsibilities when Mao was mentioned. Of course, Mao Zedong Thought still will be a guiding ideology for the Chinese communists. Therefore we should follow only the correct and logical portions and should not use the wrong portions to guide our future work. At any rate, criticism of Mao will have to be carried out, no matter in what format. I believe the Chinese communists will have their own plans.

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PARTY AND STATE

WEI JINGSHENG'S ANTIREGIME POSTER STIRS POPULAR REACTION

Poster Contents

Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 25, 1 Nov 79 pp 24-25

[Article by Yu Qi [0151 3217]: "Wei Jingsheng's Big-Character Poster Against Hua and Deng:"]

[Text] On 25 March this year, a big-character poster aimed at Hua and Deng appeared on the "democracy wall" at Xidan, entitled: "Democracy or a New Dictatorship?" A note said that it was the editorial of the magazine PROBE.

It was probably written by the magazine's chief editor, Wei Jingsheng [7614 0079 3932].

The poster read: "In his speech to the leading cadres of the central ministries and commissions on 16 March, vice chairman Deng Xiaoping tried to use the people's past faith in him to oppose the democratic movement. He charged the democratic movement with various kinds of crimes, tried arbitrarily to make the democratic movement responsible for China's economy and production, which the Hua-Deng political system has no ability to save, and once again made the people the scapegoat for their policies.

"In a situation where all the people are searching for the reason why China lagged behind in the past 30 years, and investigating the crimes committed by Mao Zedong against the people, he first jumped out to say, 'Without Mao Zedong there would be no new China.' Later, in his speech on 16 March, he not only stubbornly upheld this statement of his, but also openly praised Mao as a banner of the Chinese nation by saying that Mao's shortcomings and mistakes were negligible.

"Was he afraid of an investigation of Mao's mistakes, which would involve him personally as Mao's partner in the past, or was he prepared to continue the socialist politics of the dictatorship of Mao Zedong's style?

"He wants to give up the appearance of supporting democracy, suppress the people's democratic movement, stand totally on the opposite side against democracy, and resolutely support the rule of dictatorship.... He is taking

the road of exercising dictatorship after having cheated the people for their trust."

The appearance of this poster on "democracy wall" aroused a very strong reaction. Somebody took a ballpen and put the word "counterrevolutionary" on the poster between the name of the magazine and its editorial as an addition to the subheading. Other "comments" by the people filled the blank space of poster as a section of "small-character posters," such as: "Absolute nonsense!" "Be reasonable! Don't be rude!" "Democratic centralism means centralizing the main authority and decentralizing minor authority." "The article sounds like the 'gang of four.'" "The 'what-everists' will warmly applaud and welcome you!" "A simple reactionary big-character poster." "Freedom of speech should have as a precondition not doing harm to the party's leadership and socialism." "All the people of this country support Comrade Deng Xiaoping. You want someone else or yourself to go on the stage; it's impossible!" "Suggest to Comrade Deng Xiaoping that he make an investigation of this gang."

A big-character poster of 1 April, signed by "a worker at the Beijing Automobile Manufacturing Plant," refuted the viewpoint of PROBE magazine. This poster, entitled "A Few More Words to PROBE, and Throw Some Cold Water on the 'Democratic Movement,'" said: "No insults or rude remarks to Deng Xiaoping and other revolutionaries of the elder generation!"

A poster written by the editorial board of the people's publication 5 APRIL TRIBUNE--saying, "Regarding the article 'To have democracy or dictatorship,' we disagree with PROBE magazine, and we also want to discuss the current situation of the democratic movement"--has drawn the attention of the people. This poster criticized PROBE's editorial that Deng Xiaoping "is taking the road of exercising dictatorship after having cheated the people for their trust." It states:

"Is this true? We don't think so. What we have seen is just the contrary.... In November last year [1978], Comrade Deng was the first to support China's new people's democratic movement with the democratic wall of Xidan as its symbol.... At that time, why should he 'cheat' the people for their trust? Was it for the sake of allowing the democratic movement to make progress up to the present, in opposition to his 'personal dictatorship'?" "From both Comrade Deng's past history and the present reality, we haven't yet found that he is a 'schemer' for personal 'dictatorship' or that he even has any 'despicable purpose.'"

Wei Also Passed Military Data

Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 25, 1 Nov 79 p 26

[Article by Chen Sanqiang [7115 0005 1730]: "It Should Be Dealt With as People's Internal Contradiction"]

[Text] Wei Jingsheng gave our country's military information to foreigners. This is criminal. However, if Wei were an American, and if he were in the

United States and revealed to foreigners the names of the commander in chief and his staff officers and the number of soldiers and casualties in a war against a foreign country, these would not constitute crimes. But in China, the law won't permit such kind of behavior. Wei's case thus becomes one of contradictions between ourselves and the enemy.

Nevertheless, if Wei Jingsheng was considered a victim of the Cultural Revolution, and his wrong thinking and doing were created by the turmoil of society; then should his case be dealt with as one of contradictions among the people?

In China, the first people's organization appeared not in Beijing but in Guiyang, the "Qi Meng Society" of Guizhou. Later, it evolved into the "Jie Dong Society." Early this year, they put up big-character posters in Guiyang, Beijing, Nanjing, Shanghai, and Chongqing, distributed and sold booklets, gave speeches in streets, and spoke to foreign reporters many times. They openly attacked the Chinese Communist Party and its political programs of socialism, attacked Hua and Deng, incited the denial of the four principles, wrote letters to Carter begging him to support their "human rights movement," and advocated "learning from the Christian spirit" and "building a new country by taking the doctrine of Dr Sun Yat-sen as the core." Either in breadth or in depth, their activities were far greater than those of Wei Jingsheng and his PROBE magazine, and so were the repercussions created at home and abroad. Therefore, the Chinese Communists called them "the black sheep of the family." However, the Guizhou Provincial Party Committee "tolerated and educated" the six heads of these two people's organizations, including Huang Xiang [7806 5046], Li Jiahua [2621 1367 5478], Yang Zixing [2799 0961 5887], and Fang Jiahua [2455 1367 5478]; dealt with their case not as contradictions between the enemy and ourselves but as contradictions among the people; and tried to transform them. As a result, Huang Xiang and the others rectified their mistakes and made a new start, returned to their workplaces, and behaved very well. Why couldn't the same treatment be given to Wei Jingsheng as to Huang Xiang and the others?

Of course, Wei Jingsheng was guilty of passing military information to foreigners; however, this crime in reality is not serious. As a whole, the case couldn't be more serious than that of Huang Xiang and the others, and it was thousands of times less serious than the crimes of the "gang of four," who brought calamity upon the country and played havoc among the people. Why are the "gang of four" being treated so generously (the Chinese Communist Party has decided not to sentence them to death), while Wei Jingsheng received so severe a punishment?

Accusations Termed 'Ridiculous'

Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 25, 1 Nov 79 p 27

[Article by Ding Gong [0002 1712]: "Is Wei Jingsheng Guilty?"]

[Text] Recently, the people's intermediate court in Beijing convicted Wei Jingsheng of two crimes.

One crime was "supplying foreigners with military information." This crime sounds quite astonishing. However, when one reads the actual accusation carefully, it seems somewhat ridiculous. Wei gave out three items of "military information." First, he mentioned the names of the commander in chief and his chief of staff in the "counterattack for self-defense." In fact, these high military leaders should have been appointed openly. As the constitution stipulates that the people have the power of supervision over leaders at all levels, how can the people exercise supervision without knowing the names of high military leaders? For the results of the "counterattack in self-defense," these military leaders should be responsible to the people. The people have not only the power of supervision over them but also the power of appointing and dismissing them. Now, those who should have been appointed by the people have become a secret from the people. Is this not ridiculous? Second, he mentioned the number of people fighting. As I remember, when the United States was at war in Vietnam, each reinforcement was announced openly so that the people could express their opinions through various channels on the number of fighting men and the scope of the fighting. However, during the counterattack against Vietnam, Beijing did not tell the people openly about these things. The war became a hidden card in the hands of a few leaders, and people in the country did not know the true situation and had no way of voicing their opinion. Exactly on the basis of this concept, the Chinese Communists considered the number of fighting men a military secret. Third, Wei mentioned the number of casualties. In the fighting between China and Vietnam, both sides made a rough estimate of enemy casualties. What Wei said was "from X thousand to X thousand" and not the exact figures. The figures known to the Vietnamese must be much more accurate than what Wei said. Why should there be such a big fuss about the inaccurate figures revealed by Wei? Nobody knows how accurate are the three items of military information given by Wei Jingsheng. If they are false, then obviously his crimes should not be established. If they are true, then where could he get the information from? Wei himself was not an official of the Ministry of National Defense; he was only a lowly worker at the zoo. He had no way to get such information within the scope of his duties; somebody must have told him. Then, should whoever told him be duly punished? Why didn't he come to court for questioning? Furthermore, as regards the foreigner who received the information from Wei, why didn't the Chinese Communists take any action against him? Wei allegedly revealed military secrets on 20 February. Why was he not arrested at that time but, after more than 40 days, when he put up his big-character poster attacking the Communist leaders, then he was suddenly arrested? Don't all these questions make the people look into the case more deeply? If all those who disclosed these three items of information would be punished, then too many people should be convicted. Because in February and March of this year, I was traveling in north China, and I heard people everywhere talking about such "military secrets" and never trying to avoid me as a person from overseas. Some people gave me "information" even more classified than what Wei said. If all these people were convicted, China's courts and prisons would be crowded.

Wei's other crime was "carrying out counterrevolutionary propaganda and agitation." When I studied these accusations in writing, I could not but feel deeply sad. The "freedom of speech and press" laid down in China's constitution was indeed once more supplanted by sophistry. It seems that the label of "carrying out counterrevolutionary propaganda" can again be given to those "criminals of speech, ideology and letters" as the latest product of the "label-makers." A dialog between Wei Jingsheng and the chief judge at the court is very interesting. Wei said: "I still think that the present leaders (meaning the premier and the vice premiers) are not legal." The chief judge retorted: "Our premier and vice premiers were appointed by the decisions of the National People's Congress according to the procedure of the constitution. Is our congress not legal? Is the constitution passed by the congress not legal? Is this court of ours also not legal?" Either the chief judge was confused, or he was purposely pushing his point past reason or validity. He even forgot that the Fifth National People's Congress was not elected. So, is it legal or not legal? Are the constitution, the premier, and vice premiers, and even the court, which all came through the congress, really legal? Didn't the chief judge give himself a slap in the face?

In spite of my sadness, I had also some feeling of relief. In any case, the present conviction of Wei Jingsheng shows that China has made a small step toward the rule of law. Though the result of the trial is not rational, the trial was conducted according to the proper judicial procedures. Moreover, on television I saw that Wei had received humane treatment. There was absolutely no physical torture or personal insults, as during the Cultural Revolution. (I hope such humane treatment will appear not only on television but also all the time, not on television.) In comparison was what Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450] went through, Wei Jingsheng's treatment was a kind of progress. China has eventually advanced from "no democracy" to "half democracy." How high was the price which the people paid for this! In the future, to progress from "half democracy" to "complete democracy," the people must exert still greater efforts.

'Untimely' Sentence Too Severe

Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 25, 1 Nov 79 pp 28-29

[Article by Wang En [3769 1869]: "A Legal But Untimely Conviction--My Criticism of the Chinese Communists in Dealing With Wei Jingsheng's Case"]

[Text] The conviction in the Wei Jingsheng case aroused very serious concern of the people inside and outside China.

The Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court held an open trial of this case and, as a result, convicted Wei Jingsheng as a counterrevolutionary to be imprisoned for 15 years and deprived of his political rights for 3 years. He was sentenced for two crimes: 1) supplying foreigners with secret military information of our country; and 2) carrying out counter-revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

Wei was an outstanding figure of the democratic movement in Beijing this spring. He started an underground publication, PROBE, published some articles against the authorities, even criticized Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping, and was considered to be a dissident holding different political views. The West took him as a pioneer of China's human rights movement and democratic movement. Against this background, Wei was suddenly arrested at the end of March. There was no further news about his arrest. Later, some more people were arrested. The Chinese Communist authorities gave no details.

Now, Wei Jingsheng has become a convicted dissident. Apparently the authorities hope to educate other people through Wei's case. The people inside and outside China also took this case as a test of the extent of democracy of China's legal system. Therefore it is necessary to make an analysis of this case.

As far as the law is concerned, Wei's conviction is basically correct. First, it should be affirmed that Wei was guilty. He was guilty of supplying a foreigner with military information [that gave] the names of the commanders of the Chinese armed forces in the China-Vietnam war, the number of soldiers sent there, and the number of casualties in battle. As Chinese people, we should be opposed to Wei's action in giving away information. On this point, Wei as the defendant also confessed in court. Moreover, there were two witnesses who testified at court. There was definite evidence of his betrayal of his motherland, and he should be punished according to the law. From this, it can be held that Wei had committed the crime of betraying his country. In any other country, he would be punished according to the law.

With regard to Wei's second crime--that is, writing reactionary articles, printing and distributing reactionary periodicals, and inciting the overthrow of the political power and socialist system of the Chinese Communist proletarian dictatorship--all these constituted criminal acts according to the constitution, laws, and regulations promulgated by the authorities. His conviction of crimes of counterrevolutionary propaganda and agitation was also carried out legally. The court's ruling on his crimes was basically legal.

Further, regarding the procedure of the trial, it was carried out according to the proceedings of open trial. In a word, Wei's conviction was legal. The defendant's action was willful, infringed upon the subject and caused them definite harm. The court convicted and punished him according to the law. On this point, nobody can complain. If anybody says that Wei was innocent and should not be punished, his opinion is not justified.

However, the affirmation of this point does not mean that there are no questions about Wei's conviction--especially questions raised from the legal point of view.

First of all, in my opinion, Wei's sentence was too heavy and too severe. In particular, the punishment came from the articles of the "Rules for Punishing Counterrevolutionaries" promulgated during the period of suppressing counterrevolutionaries at the beginning of 1951, as quoted by the Chinese communist authorities. No consideration was given to the new situation today, in which the nation has shifted its focus of politics; and no reference was made, in consideration of the sentence, to the new criminal code. It was contrary to the principle of seeking the truth from the facts, its mistake was excessive severity, and its effect was negative. If the authorities acted according to today's new situation and took into consideration the articles of the new criminal code and how the defendant made his confession of guilt, the maximum sentence would be 8 years' imprisonment, which is fairly severe. The defendant still has an opportunity to make an appeal. If the higher court changes his sentence, any unnecessary repercussions may still be made good.

Next, there are still mitigating circumstances for defendant Wei Jingsheng's crimes: (1) Wei was not in the habit of giving away secrets; this was his only offense. (2) Wei was not an important cadre holding or handling these military secrets; he was only a worker at a park service and management office, having nothing to do with the departments of military secrets. Thus, how he could get such military secrets is a question which deserves consideration. It was said that these secrets had been reported by the Chinese Communist leadership inside official circles, which many people in the country knew about. The only thing was that Wei heard about them and disclosed them to foreigners, so he argued on his own behalf that he did not realize that these were secrets. He also had definite reasons. From Wei's status, profession, circumstances under which he committed his crimes, and his subjective desire, it seems that there were great differences between him and those who committed serious crimes in giving away secrets. (3) According to the new criminal code, for gathering information on behalf of the enemy, if the case is not serious, the culprit will be sentenced to imprisonment for more than 3 years but less than 10 years. But for a crime similar to that specified in the first category of the 6th article of the "Rules for Punishing Counterrevolutionaries," the culprit will be sentenced to death or life imprisonment. If the case is not serious, he will be sentenced to imprisonment for more than 5 years. In comparison, Wei's case was apparently not serious. Besides, Wei committed his crimes after the downfall of the "gang of four" and when the Communist authorities were giving play to democracy and perfecting the legal system. His severe punishment of 15 years' imprisonment is not justified; it is unnecessary even when his other crimes, including that of counterrevolutionary agitation, were taken into consideration.

Thirdly, I think that this conviction was a most untimely one. Even though it was legal and basically correct, its correctness and legality were negated because it was untimely. The conviction brought about unfavorable consequences. What it could gain did not compensate what it lost. It was untimely in the following respects:

(1) At that time, Premier Hua Guofeng was visiting four countries in Western Europe. As we all know, what the Western democratic countries pay the greatest attention to is the issue of human rights. Moreover, the Western press had praised Wei and his friends as the pioneers of China's human rights movement. At that very moment, he was convicted. Even if the leaders of the four countries might not express their disapproval, the people and the press would certainly voice their dissatisfaction so that Hua would receive less favorable response from the four countries in his efforts to win their sympathy and support. Why couldn't Wei's trial be held after Hua Guofeng completed his European tour?

(2) Wei and the others were arrested this spring, and no explanation was given by the authorities later on. Nobody knew what would be the procedure for making arrests, investigation and prosecution. The case was held in abeyance for 8 months. The trial could have taken place not only after Hua's return from Europe but also the next year, when the new criminal law and code of criminal procedure will come into effect.

(3) At a time when the Chinese Communist authorities were encouraging all people in high and low positions to emancipate their minds, giving play to democracy, seeking foreign capital and technology, and accelerating modernization, and when the people were vigorously striving for their fundamental democratic rights, suddenly Wei Jingsheng and those who apparently were still advocating democracy and freedom were brought to trial. This gave us the impression and the Communist authorities were again tightening up and changing their policy. Especially unconvincing was the trial of Fu Yuehua [0265 2588 5478]. We don't know what serious crime Fu has committed to justify her trial at this most sensitive moment and with so much publicity. We cannot but think that the Communist authorities tried to treat a legal case as a political issue for the education of the people. It is not wise to lay stress on politics at this moment. The case of Wei Jingsheng should be dealt with according to the law. Law is law. Don't try to gain political interests from education of the law. If the cases of Wei and Fu were handled from the political angle, then there would be justification for the defendants, not for the prosecution.

(4) Wei Jingsheng did not want a lawyer for his defense. This shows that the system of lawyers is not yet perfect in China, that lawyers still cannot gain the general trust of the people. It is a flaw in the legal system. When defendants eagerly ask lawyers to defend them, then we may say that the legal system has taken root in the people's minds.

Furthermore, on the day of Wei's trial, the Communist authorities did not open the court freely to the public but selectively admitted only those who had admission tickets, and even refused foreign reporters and Wei's colleagues and friends to attend the trial. This was a very serious shortcoming. Only the reporters of official newspapers and TV stations were in the court. Their reports did not cover everything and were partial to the prosecution. For instance, defendant Wei's own pleading for innocence has not been reported objectively and justly. This shows

that China's judicial system and press still require emancipation of the mind. All of these things will negate the rationality of Wei's conviction and, what is more important, will make an unfavorable impression on foreign observers and create misunderstanding between China and foreign countries.

Trial, Sentence Supported

Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 25, 1 Nov 79 p 30

[Article by Xiao Min [5135 3046]: "Public Opinion in China"]

[Text] In recent days, an insignificant worker at a park in Beijing municipality, Wei Jingsheng, has suddenly become a famous person: all people in China now know this man. Everyone in the world also knows him. Even the U.S. State Department was aroused and expressed its "shock and disappointment" over Wei's conviction. In this small place, Hong Kong, people are also very much interested in this person. All newspapers reported this case and published their comments with widely different views, even against each other. However, the fact is very clear to all of us that Wei is a Chinese citizen, and the incident in which he was involved occurred within the territory of China. Therefore, this is China's internal affair; the Chinese Government put him on trial and convicted him according to the law, and this is China's sovereign right, with which no foreign countries and their people have the right to interfere. Of course, it is quite normal for them to make comments on this matter; nobody can tell them to shut up. Nevertheless, the Chinese people, including those overseas and the compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao, should be most directly concerned about it. What we hope most to find out is the public opinion in China and the true mentality of the Chinese people.

We know very little about Wei's person and his deeds. Some information known to us comes only from the newspapers, and is piecemeal and incomplete. It is very difficult for us to make a correct and objective conclusion. However, our fundamental principle is very clearcut--that is, in the future, China should be a democratic, rich, and powerful country ruled by law, and the Chinese people should lead a peaceful life with true freedom and happiness. The wheel of history should never be permitted to turn backward. On the basis of this principle, we believe that either the common people or those in power can represent the people as long as they speak and act according to the will of the people. Otherwise, they are the enemy of the people. It is very easy to find an example. For instance, among those in power, there was a clear distinction between Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping on the one side and Lin Biao and Jiang Qing on the other. The former were supported by the people; the latter were rejected by the people. The heroes of the common people in the Tiananmen incident and the accomplices and hitmen of the "gang of four"--who were good and who were bad--the people know very well.

From the XINHUA reports, we have learned that Wei Jingshen committed crimes of "supplying foreigners with our country's military information" and "carrying out counterrevolutionary propaganda and agitation," and that the publication PROBE edited and published by Wei, was a "reactionary periodical." If these were the true facts, then the conviction of a traitor for his counterrevolutionary activities should represent the will of the Chinese people. The people should only support it and have no reason to oppose it. In retrospect, during the period of the anti-Japanese war, we would understand how deeply the Chinese people hated traitors. However, there is a question: Who were the foreigners who instigated and bought over Wei, and were they arrested? Of course, these people should not be let go easily just because they were foreigners. Those who caused harm to China's interests were certainly not the friends of the Chinese people. Besides, as PROBE (and some others of this kind) were reactionary publications, naturally they were opposed to the people and the revolution in purpose, and violated the interests of the people. Therefore, they should be banned in order to protect the people's interests. They should not be allowed to continue. Those of Wei's kind must also be prosecuted. Wei was severely punished with imprisonment of 15 years; the others could not be innocent, however light their crimes might be. China's law should be applicable to any Chinese citizen. Before the law, all the people are equal. This is defined in the newly promulgated law. Chairman Peng Zhen [1756 4176] of the Political Committee said: "The law is great." To truly act according to the law, and to rule China by law, are the wish and hope of the Chinese people.

9039

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

REASSESSMENT OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION URGED

Hong Kong ZHENGHANG in Chinese No 25, 1 Nov 79 pp 47-48

[Article by Ma Lu [7456 6424]: "The Cultural Revolution Should No Longer Be Referred to as a Revolution"]

[Text] Ye Jianying's [5509 0494 5391] talk on National Day attracted great attention both at home and abroad. The talk was indeed epochal, preliminarily summarizing the past 30 years and enumerating the major achievements and momentous issues of the period. The clarity of viewpoint and the frankness in attitude were both rarely seen in previous Communist Chinese documents. The talk more or less manifested the results of ideological emancipation and political reform and inspired a greater confidence in the spirit of seeking the truth from the facts advocated by the Communist Chinese collective leadership today.

It is impossible for one speech, one article, to resolve all the issues. Such a demand will be unrealistic. In his talk, Ye indicated preparations for a conscientious summation of the past 30 years, especially the 10 years of the Cultural Revolution. It is highly necessary. Besides a certain amount of time which will be required for collecting material and clarifying the conditions, the sooner the summation is made, the better it is, because a considerable portion of the old cadres personally participating in the activities of the past 30 years and of the past 10 years are already of an advanced age. Their firsthand information concerning the leadership level will be most reliable and most authoritative. The longer the delay, the smaller will be the amount of such information. This is a point which should not be overlooked.

It appears that the issues touched upon in Ye's talk remain doubtful even now. It is hoped that clearer answers will be given in future talks.

The following are some of the instances.

In the wording of the Great Cultural Revolution, for example, besides the "starting point" of "combating and preventing revisionism" which can be affirmed, it was "a big battle between revolution and counter-revolution" for 10 entire years. Splits, chaos, and bloody terror appeared in China, resulting in tremendous destructions and enormous calamities in the entire nation. Then, can the designation of the "Great Cultural Revolution" still stand? We know that "revolution" is a commendatory term, symbolizing progress and the hope of the people. In view of the things which occurred in the 10 years, if it is still designated as a "revolution," will not the name fall short of the reality? Will it not be a big mockery?

This is especially so with the designation of the "Great Cultural Revolution." At the beginning, it seemed to be limited to the cultural realm, but not long thereafter, it went far beyond "culture." Mao Zedong subsequently admitted that it was "a great political revolution." Communist China has always been precise in the use of words, and gives special attention to the sense of principle. It is a good way. If it continues to use the term "Great Cultural Revolution," it will inevitably create confusion in concept and understanding in history.

The "starting point" is correct. Ye Jianying made expositions on this point, emphasizing the necessity of remaining alert and preventing revisionism. There should be no disagreement on this point. However, whether "combating and preventing revisionism" should take the form of a "great revolution" requires clarification. From the spirit of his talk and the statements of other responsible persons of Communist China, one can see that the form of a "great revolution" will definitely not be used hereafter. Then, was the decision at that time correct? This issue must not be left vague.

Why was there such a great disruption? Ye's talk pointed out the mistakes in three aspects which were utilized by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." This is very important. All along, it was unconvincing to charge Lin Biao and the "gang of four" with the entire responsibility. How could they have been so skillful? Now it has been clarified: The mistakes, which came first, were utilized by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." It was Communist China's direct admission of its own error. There is nothing wrong with it. "The mistake of a gentleman is like the eclipse of the sun and the moon, seen by everyone. When corrected, it is admired by everyone." The cessation of covering up mistakes is an encouraging improvement.

But the three mistakes must be clarified.

"What constituted revisionism was not accurately explained." Then, what is the accurate explanation? There seems to be still no answer now, let alone then. At one time, "revisionism" indeed rampaged. From the central government, to the local government, to the individuals, it seemed that every incident and everything, every word and every act, constituted "revisionism." China had actually turned into a country with hundreds of millions following the revisionist path (except those like the "gang of four"). Wasn't it a monstrous absurdity? That the "gang of four" was permitted to commit outrages and create havoc to such an extent was because no one could explain what was true revisionism. Wasn't Yugoslavia called an "old revisionist?" Now it appears that it is no longer such. When just what constituted revisionism was unclear, the slogans of "combating and preventing revisionism" and "combating revisionism is inevitably correct" at that time were merely empty phrases. What was past was past. For the sake of the future, "what is revisionism" must have a concrete content and a clear definition. It must not be theorized or generalized.

"The appraisal of the situation in the party and in the country was contrary to reality." Just what was the appraisal at that time? Where did it contradict reality? This is a momentous issue. The "gang of four" liked to prattle about the situation. At all times, they would declare that "the situation is excellent" and that "the situation becomes ever better." The so-called "situation" was something concocted by them. At the beginning, the listener still could agree with them, or feel convinced out of habit. But later on, such "situation analyses" which had become "platitudes" could no longer be convincing. Therefore, admitting that the appraisal of the situation in the party and in the country was contrary to reality marked a rare frankness. (What about the appraisal of the international situation? It was not mentioned this time, but actually, it is also a problem). If an analysis of how and why the appraisal was contrary to reality can be made, it will have an important guiding significance in teaching the people how to correctly appraise the situation.

As for "the departure from the principle of democratic centralism and the adoption of erroneous policies and methods of struggle," it is a point which is easily understood. The alarming incidents in the 10 years of the "Cultural Revolution" and the grave consequences all indicated the error of the "policies" and "methods." However, the "gang of four" and its like should not be entirely responsible for the error. The occurrence of the error was due to "the departure from the principle of democratic centralism." As for why the principle of democratic centralism was abandoned, doubtlessly it is an

extremely important issue. Most likely Communist China's emphasis on restoring democratic centralism in the party and making sound the socialist democracy and legal system in the state today is a result of the lesson of the painful experience.

This part of General Ye's talk indirectly answered a puzzling question in one's mind: Were Lin Biao and the "gang of four" entirely responsible for the serious situation emerging in the "Cultural Revolution?" It was indicated here that it was not so. The mistakes were already there, and the pests utilized them to commit their outrages. Compared with speeches in the past, it looks like that there was indeed the spirit of seeking the truth from the facts. What one is dissatisfied with is the lack of details and therefore the inadequacy in persuasiveness and educational essence. One can only hope for them in the summation in the future.

A very valuable part of the talk was the criticism of the ultra-leftwing line, pointing out its ideological, political, economic, cultural, and organizational characteristics and the detrimental consequences. That this part of the talk is highly necessary is because all such characteristics manifested by the ultra-leftwing line in at least the 10 years of Cultural Revolution were all advocated as "Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought" and the contents of "revolution." Anyone having the audacity to doubt or disagree immediately became "counterrevolutionary," "revisionist," and "rightist." After Lin Biao died, there was a period when he and ultra-leftism were criticized. But it was immediately quashed, criticizing leftism forbidden, and denouncing "the ultra-rightwing essence" urged. Around this time, "revisionism" and the "rightwing reversal trend" were continuously criticized, and were even conducted under this or that kind of "directive;" therefore, ideological chaos became inevitable. Even now, why are there still those who feel that "I, only, am revolutionary?" Why are there still those who are so dogmatic? Why are there still those who suspect that the policy of seeking the truth from the facts is "revisionist?" The situation is inseparable from the remnant ultra-leftwing poison yet unpurged. It was necessary to concentrate fire on the ultra-leftwing line in the talk. However, why did the ultra-leftwing line emerge in China's socialist state? How did it emerge, develop, and form? What kind of source was in society and in the Chinese Communist Party? Though these were mentioned in passing, such as the statement that "the history of China's feudal society was extremely long," etc., actually, there was no comprehensive and profound analysis; there was no great confidence in how to effectively prevent the revival of the ultra-leftwing line and how to make the people promptly discover and overcome its symptoms. Of course, it is impossible to explain thoroughly the ultra-leftwing line in one

talk. Therefore, it is best to continue the explanation by means of supplementary articles and make more intensive criticisms in conjunction with the course of China's revolution. It will have a greater impact on the future struggle to "combat and prevent ultra-leftism" (to be waged separately from the struggle to "combat and prevent revisionism").

Issues such as these should and could be intensively studied by all Chinese who are concerned over national affairs. We hope that, following Ye Jianying's talk this time, more issues will be gradually brought out, and the conditions and lessons of experience of the 10 years of "Cultural Revolution" clarified, so that China's affairs can be handled more easily. In fact, since the period of the "Cultural Revolution," as a result of Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" disruption and the effect of a number of other errors, the Chinese people have not only suffered a setback in their material life and lagged in culture and science, but also sunk into a fairly depressed state politically. Ambiguity in the major issues of principle, confusion in theories, and ignorance of the truth are the main reasons for the people's feeling of bewilderment and perplexity in political issues, resulting in indifference and unconcern, "nothing to do with me," and "better not pay attention to them." It is a grave danger to the Chinese Communist Party which is built on political-ideological work. From now on, dispelling the clouds to bring out the sun remains a complicated and arduous task. It hinges not only on what the central government says, but also on whether the people of the entire country can be truly convinced. Life must be improved, national defense reinforced, and the people's confidence strengthened. Confucius' words that "when there are sufficient food and soldiers, the people will have confidence" remain meaningful today.

6080

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

TRUTH OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION REQUIRES CLARIFICATION

Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 25, 1 Nov 79 p 49

[Article by Guan Fengyue [7070 7364 2588]: "Preliminary Conclusion about the Cultural Revolution"]

[Text] Last year, ZHENGMING launched a discussion to evaluate the Cultural Revolution, which continued for several issues and was quite lively, attracting the attention of many patriotic figures at home and abroad. Currently, the discussion has reached a preliminary conclusion.

This preliminary conclusion was made by Committee Chairman Ye Jianying. At the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the nation, he said: "At the time when the Great Cultural Revolution was launched, as the appraisal of the situation in the party and in the country was contrary to reality, as what constituted revisionism was not accurately explained, and as there was a departure from the principle of democratic centralism and erroneous policies and methods of struggle were adopted... the severe counterrevolutionary disruption which lasted 10 years resulted in an enormous calamity to the people of our country and the most serious setback to our socialist cause since the founding of the nation." Naturally, it was only a preliminary conclusion. General Ye also said that the Party Central Committee felt that the history of the past 30 years, especially the 10 years of the Great Cultural Revolution, must, at an appropriate time and after special conferences, be officially summarized. Before the Party Central Committee's official summation, we should be basically satisfied with General Ye's "preliminary basic appraisal" of the Cultural Revolution.

Some people said that the Cultural Revolution of 10 years has been negated. Indeed, it should be negated! General Ye expressed the true feelings long harbored in the hearts of the Chinese people

(including patriotic figures overseas) and, by seeking the truth from the facts, made a negative assessment of the Cultural Revolution. It was an attitude of responsibility toward future generations as well as those of this generation.

In his talk, General Ye did not say who made "the appraisal of the domestic and international situation which was contrary to reality" and who failed to "make an accurate explanation of what constituted revisionism." Just who was it? Was it "we?" Then it would at least include General Ye himself who gave the talk. But it would be unjust! He personally did not participate in the decision to launch the Great Cultural Revolution, nor was he present when the appraisal of the domestic and international situation was made or when the "revisionist" label was created. Was it the "Party Central Committee?" Then, even more people would call it unjust. General Ye did not say who it was, but everyone knows.

People, the majority of them, including this writer, always feel that it is inevitable for "the rain to fall, and a woman to marry." Maybe not now, but sooner or later, the "who" will be mentioned. In the 3 years since knocking down the "gang of four," General Ye has improved every time in the several talks given by him. Compared with his statement on the Great Cultural Revolution in the report on revising the party bylaw at the 11th Congress 2 years ago, isn't the talk at this year's National Day a clear proof? Two years ago, he extolled the great leader Chairman Mao who, with the great daring of a proletarian revolutionary, "personally launched and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," and warned that any "capitalist roadster" wishing to usurp the party and seize power would be handled according to the methods of the Great Cultural Revolution! Reading these words at that time, this writer swallowed a breath and heaved a silent sigh: How terrible! However, 2 years afterward, I felt a sincere happiness over his talk at the 30th National Day. His appraisal of the Cultural Revolution changed from "consolidating and strengthening the proletarian dictatorship and promoting the development of China's socialist cause" to "the severe counterrevolutionary disruption which lasted 10 years resulted in an enormous calamity to the people of our country and the most serious setback to our socialist cause since the founding of the nation." Such improvement in his understanding is also an irresistible improvement of the 900 million Chinese people in their historical progress.

Everyone knows that the talk was not General Ye's personal opinion, but the joint decision of the high level leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. It is not a trivial matter, and cannot be treated lightly.

However, "royalists" are found in every era and everywhere in the world. In Hong Kong, this writer ran into several friends who felt "distressed" over the injury to the unmentioned "who." They also thought that the Cultural Revolution of 10 years was a great disaster, but objected to "laying the entire responsibility on the old man." Their feelings might be due to their "simple class sentiment," and their disagreement with the preliminary conclusion of the Cultural Revolution was sincere.

Therefore, no matter from what angle one observes the issue, it is more beneficial than harmful to clarify the Cultural Revolution. Covering up and concealing and failing to seek the truth from the facts will only adversely affect the momentous four modernizations. It appears that an "official summation" of the history of the past 30 years, especially the 10 years of Cultural Revolution, must be made, and the sooner the better (while the old general and others are still living, greater emphasis should be placed on the "two" of one dividing into two). The summation will naturally include a general assessment of Mao Zedong's merits and mistakes.

According to the views of the high level leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, they would like to delay the matter as long as possible. Wasn't there such an opinion: Let the matter of evaluating Mao be handled by the next generation? ZHENGMING has time and again appealed for an evaluation of Mao, expressing the desire of the majority of the patriotic figures. Today, the humidity and the temperature are both right, and the rain is about to fall. We of this generation must perform our obligations, summarize the history of this phase, and open the way for future generations.

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PARTY AND STATE

COOPERATION BETWEEN COMMUNIST CHINA, TAIWAN URGED

Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 25, 1 Nov 79 pp 56-57

[Article by Zheng Naiyen [6774 0035 3508]: "Chinese Communist United Front and National Unification"]

[Text] I write this article in response to the articles by a certain person named Yen published successively in a Hong Kong newspaper last month and to the big label of "the clown of the Chinese Communist United Front" imposed on me. On the occasion of the second anniversary of this periodical, I hope to study the matter together with our faithful readers in all areas.

After the collapse of the "gang of four," the line followed by Hua, Ye and Deng won the affirmative support of the people of the entire country. In the past 3 years, the united front work of Communist China has made a flexible development in the nature of a breakthrough, the democratic figures in the country have again won recognition and respect and, on the Taiwan issue, Communist China has formally and voluntarily proposed postal communication, navigation and air traffic, trade, visiting, and free travels. On the eve of National Day, I went from Hong Kong to Beijing. During the lively conversation at the dinner given by Committee Vice Chairman Kang Ke-qing (Madame Zhu De) in my honor, attended by Luo Qingchang, Tong Xiaopeng, Zhao Guanyi and my old friends Mesdames Zhang Yunyi, Cai Tingkai and Jiang Guangnai, the early unification of the fatherland was one of the subjects discussed. Madame Zhu De reiterated Mr Deng Xiaoping's talk on maintaining the status quo of Taiwan, including its political system and military force, manifesting an unprecedented sincerity of the Chinese Communist leadership level on the Taiwan issue.

I recall that, in the fall of 1972, I, accompanied by my daughter-in-law, went from Hong Kong to Taiwan for a half-month sightseeing trip

and met many old friends, colleagues and schoolmates in such areas as Taipei, Gaoxiang and Hualian. In the course of our conversations, all showed a deep concern over the mainland situation, their relatives and rumors of unrest.

During the Spring Festival of 1974, to clarify the true situation and pay a visit to my wife and children living on the mainland, I resolutely took with me my six children and grandchildren and, risking the hazards, crossed Shenzhen to Guangzhou. I am not exaggerating the hazards, because it was my first trip to Guangzhou since liberation, and I did not obtain in advance any guarantee of safety from the Communist Chinese government. Furthermore, it was the year when the "gang of four" was most violent in its rampage. In addition, my wife, who was living in Guangzhou city, had her house searched and her property seized during the disturbances, including a chestful of over 100 pieces of chinaware imprinted with the name of Zheng Munong which, a memento of the Northern Expedition, was made to order when the troops arrived at Jingdezhen, Jiangxi, on the occasion of donating salaries for the recovery of local industry. Before leaving on the trip, I had no idea of what I would come up against, and advices against my trip and sarcastic remarks intertwined in my mind. However, I recalled my introduction to Zhou Enlai by my classmate Deng Yanda when the Huangpu Military Academy was created and my subsequent meetings with him which left a deep impression, and my friendship with Zhu De whom I worked with during the Northern Expedition and who was sincere, upright, patient and candid, and, at the age of 82, I was no longer concerned over life or death. Therefore, I made up my mind to return to Guangzhou in order to reunite with my wife and children whom I had not seen for many years, to visit my old friends, colleagues and schoolmates, and to clarify the situation of Communist China since liberation and its political system. As shown afterward, Communist China still followed the correct united front policy which was suspended due to the "gang of four's" disruption, and it was still concerned over the former Guomindang military and government personnel at home and abroad and showed them due respect. Those who had suffered from the disturbances obtained rational and suitable solutions. Except for the chinaware which had disappeared, my wife, for instance, was reimbursed for the search and seizure, and was assigned a new residence 2 years ago. Returning to Hong Kong after my trip that year, I had all sorts of feelings welling up in my mind. Subsequently, I returned to the mainland many times, visiting such areas as Beijing and Shanghai, and made detailed observations of the plants and rural people's communes, the people's mental outlook, and the constructions and achievements of the fatherland. My impressions were published in various newspapers and periodicals, and my article

entitled "Prospects of the Third Guomindang-Communist Cooperation" appeared in No 20 of ZHENGMING.

For a long time, Communist China has never concealed the fact that the united front is one of the means of the "liberation cause." The united front can be interpreted as a policy and a strategy for Communist China to win the support of the people of the various classes and strata. During the period of the civil war after victory over Japan, besides relentlessly wiping out the main force directly under Guomindang's control, Communist China relied on the united front to win the support of the absolute majority of the democratic parties and factions in the "areas under Guomindang control," and to incite uprisings of local troops in the provinces and regions. For this reason, it was able to seize, in a short period of 3 plus years, the political power from the hands of the Guomindang possessing 10 times the military strength. As far as Communist China is concerned, both the united front workers and the PLA generals must share the credit for the creation of the new China, and nor must the effort of the democratic parties and factions and the patriotic figures of all classes and strata be overlooked. Communist China is well aware of this fact. Therefore, during the first session of the Political Consultative Conference, the democratic figures received their proper respect and obtained suitable considerations and arrangements, while they, in turn, devoted their entire effort to the building of the new China.

I remember that, between 1953 and 1955, my old friend General Qu Shounian of the 19th Route Army (the responsible person of the "democratic revolution" in Guangzhou at that time) wrote me successively from Guangzhou, describing the growing prosperity of the nation and the respect accorded my old friends, and manifesting his excitement.

During the "anti-rightist" campaign in 1957, many democratic figures bore the first brunt and were condemned as rightists, and Communist China's united front work began to take a turn for the worse. In the 10 years of the Cultural Revolution, disturbances erupted in the nation, and united front work almost came to a standstill. Even Rao Zhangfeng, former united front department chief of Guangdong province, died from persecution. The suspension of Communist China's united front work and the retrogression caused by the Cultural Revolution were indeed an unfortunate delay of the unification cause.

In his talk of over 23,000 words on National Day this year, Committee Chairman Ye Jianying candidly summarized the achievements in all aspects in the 30 years since the founding of the nation, examined the tortuous paths followed in the past, eagerly hoped that Taiwan would rejoin the fatherland in order to complete the unification cause

together, and showed a warm concern over our blood and flesh compatriots in Taiwan. Taiwan indeed has many things which can serve as references to Communist China. I feel that cooperation between Guomindang and the Communist Party will greatly reinforce the national strength, produce an extremely important effect on peace in Southeast Asia, and discourage certain hegemonists with territorial ambitions. Therefore, from the political, economic, and emotional aspects and from the situation of the growing unrest in Southeast Asia, Guomindang and the Communist Party must begin their cooperation as soon as possible.

I fully subscribe to General Ye's hope that the patriotic figures in Hong Kong and Macao and abroad will produce a bridging effect in the unification cause, i. e., serving as an intangible yet substantial link between Guomindang and the Communist Party. Unification is the desire of the entire people as well as the affair of the Guomindang and the Communist Party. Therefore, I sincerely make the following three suggestions:

(1) Both Guomindang and the Communist Party should promptly abandon their present names and use "China" as the common designation. Since ancient times, the designations of the various dynasties were always simple and clear, such as Tang, Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing. Therefore, the simple and dignified designation of "China" will be acceptable to the 900 million people and the various nations in the world. As long as the issue of the name is solved, other details will transform into internal affairs.

(2) In Hong Kong and Macao and abroad, both Guomindang and the Communist Party must eliminate their sharply divided hostile attitude, seek mutual intercourse, organize tourism to the interior and Taiwan, strengthen understanding, and promote friendship. The various family associations, hometown associations, special mass organizations, labor unions, and trade associations should strengthen cooperation as much as possible, especially the labor unions of the two factions which should treat each other as brothers.

(3) As Li Mi's remnant troops on the Yunnan-Burma border, former Guomindang party, military, and government personnel in Hong Kong's Diaojingling, and Dalai's followers in India are all our blood and flesh compatriots, I suggest that the Communist Chinese authorities take a positive attitude and try to understand them and render them aid, including economic help and finding a way out for them. Left-wing newspapers have, for a long time, called Hong Kong's Diaojingling "Dialjingling" ["Hang Neck Cliff"], which is unfair. After all, they are all victims of the civil war between the Guomindang and the Communist Party and abandoned people. I believe that leaving them to

live and die on their own is contrary to Communist China's line of the united front while failing to reform and utilize the remaining talents is extremely wasteful.

I joined the Tongmeng Association in the first year of Xuantong, following the great Sun Yatsen in his campaigns everywhere and seeking the way to a unified, wealthy and powerful nation. Unfortunately, many of my hopes have turned into disappointments. I am now 87 years old, and I have personally experienced the first and second cooperation of the Guomindang and the Communist Party. How I long for the early arrival of the third cooperation!

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PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG JOURNAL EDITORIAL ON FREEDOM OF SPEECH IN CHINA

HK090445 Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 25, 1 Nov 79 p 4 HK

[Editorial: "On 'Singing a Different Tune'"]

[Excerpts] When certain people have heard of some public opinions which are different from what the central authorities say, they often make such charges: You are singing a different tune from the central authorities!

According to these people, whatever the central authorities say is correct; whatever "tune" is different from what the central authorities adopt is wrong.

These are the two new "whatevers," the new tune sung by the "whatevers."

We feel the "party Central Committee" is not a deity just as Mao Zedong was not. It is impossible that "every sentence they utter is truth." What Mao Zedong said should be divided into two. What the central authorities say should also be divided into two. How should we do this? We should consult our teachers. The most reliable eternal teachers are the masses and practice. Those who respect teachers consistently replenish their own points of view. They sometimes sing tunes different from their teachers.

For example, the report made by Hua Guofeng at the second session of the Fifth NPC held in June reflected the precious spirit of the third plenum. The report also expounded on correct viewpoints on internal affairs. These facts should be fully affirmed. However, other points mentioned by Hua Guofeng in his reports at the 11th party congress held in August and the first session of the Fifth NPC held in March last year, such as class struggle will never cease, the Cultural Revolution was good, cultural revolutions should be carried out repeatedly, Liu Shaoqi's line was wrong, the "gang of four" are ultrarightists (not ultraleftists), as well as we must learn (comprehensively) from Dazhai in agriculture, steel must be taken as the key link and so forth, were all wrong.

Well, let us see. Is it not true that the party chairman of 1979 is singing a different tune from that of the party chairman of 1977 and 1978?

Another example, Ye Jianying's speech on Army Day in 1977 affirmed the Cultural Revolution. He said it was a "wise scheme" of far-reaching significance left over to us by Chairman Mao for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, in his speech on National Day this year, Ye Jianying negated the Cultural Revolution.

Well, is it not true that the party Central Committee was again singing a different tune from what it had sung?

It is right to sing such different tunes. To do so is to set right things which have been thrown into disorder. To do so is also to correct mistakes whenever they are discovered. This is the spirit of seeking truth from facts and demonstrates that the ideological understanding of the Central Committee is going deeper. This shows that the materialist spirit of the Central Committee today is more thoroughgoing than that of the past 30 years. Ye and Hua will not be belittled for that. On the contrary, people will believe more firmly that they are statesmen of courage and wisdom.

It is therefore evident that to sing a different tune from the central authorities is not necessarily bad. If you strike the right note, it will turn out to be really good.

Of course, it does not mean that "every sentence" uttered by the masses "is truth." The opinions, requests and proposals of the masses must also be divided into two. In any case, however, the collective wisdom of the masses which is derived from social practice must be treasured and absorbed. Therefore, we must not fly into a rage and blot out different opinions at one stroke whenever we hear them. We should make specific analyses of what others say and discard the false while retaining the true. Mao Zedong was far from equal to Stalin in listening to different opinions of the masses. After publication of Stalin's works, which were written in his later years, such as "Marxism and the Problem of Linguistics" and "The Problem of Socialist Economy in the USSR," certain Soviet linguists and economists wrote articles and aired their different views. But Stalin did not retaliate. He continued to publish his articles and arguments. Such practice should be promoted in China!

China has been ruined too deeply by the practice of "one person alone has the say" and by religious superstition. We were gratified at the spirit and action of self-correction of the CCP chairman. Meanwhile, we hope the CCP will really encourage the free airing of views and follow good advice. The "new whatever" and the "old whatever" must be discarded. What we need is the words from the bottom of the hearts of the masses. This is an important task for the CCP to rebuild its prestige. Cut off from the masses, a party will perish or exist in name only. During the past years, the CCP has paid so much in tuition fees. Has it not drawn a lesson from it?

PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG JOURNAL ON PRC POLITICAL SITUATION SINCE FOURTH PLENUM

HK070936 Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 25, 1 Nov 79 pp 5-7 HK

[Article by Lo Ping [5012 0393]: "Chinese Communist Party Movements Following the Fourth Plenum"]

[Text] Small "Disturbances" Are Normal Events

Beijing is "bustling with activity" in the autumn. There are visitors presenting petitions, students' strikes, demonstrations, sit-ins, parades, democratic speeches criticizing Hua Guofeng, big-character posters supporting and opposing the 15-year term sentence passed on Wei Jingsheng... Foreign correspondents are busy sending reports on this situation. Some Chinese think the situation is somewhat turbulent and they are disturbed by it.

In my view, these are normal activities. Only when one does not want democracy nor the constitution and does not let people have freedom will there be no phenomenon of "disturbance." The reason is that there are many contradictions among the people, contradictions that can be resolved in various ways. What is wrong with the people taking appropriate actions on the basis of their democratic right to resolve the contradictions? If contradictions are toned down and resolved, stability and unity will be strengthened. Why are people so nervous and excited?

These "disturbances," which are not disturbances in the true sense of the word, have made some people overlook two important circumstances in which the CCP Central Committee finds itself:

1. Innerparty democratic life has been enlivened in the Chinese Communist Party.
2. Important personnel shifts are being made in the CCP Central Committee.

The One Who Drafted Ye Jianying's Speech

One striking example of the enlivening of innerparty democratic life in the Chinese Communist Party is the process used for drafting Ye Jianying's National Day speech.

It is said that Hu Yaobang was responsible for drafting Ye Jianying's report. The draft was sent to the leading strata in various localities, various ministers, secretaries of provincial committees and secretaries of party committees for institutes of higher learning, a total of more than 1,000 persons. They looked it over and made suggestions before it was revised. Finally, Ye Jianying and Deng Xiaoping revised it. Then it was taken to the fourth plenum for discussion and passed. The whole writing "work" took 3 months. It was not a simple matter.

Controversial Issues

During the discussion, most people held the same views concerning developments during the 8 years prior to 1957 and the 3 years after the downfall of the "gang of four." However, there were many differing views over developments in the 20 years after 1957. For example, there were controversies over three questions: Was enlargement of the antirightist movement wrong? Was the Great Leap Forward a big premature advance? Were Mao Zedong's 23 articles on the four clean-ups movement erroneous? A consensus of opinion was arrived over these three questions:

Enlargement of the antirightist movement was wrong.

The Great Leap Forward was a major premature advance.

The 23 articles were erroneous.

In addition, it was agreed that the antirightist, small clean-ups and new three-anti movements were wrong.

Some Issues Evaded

The "four clean-ups" movement was a prelude to the Cultural Revolution. The basic negation of the "four clean-ups" movement in a sense led to the question of "cultural revolution." To be sure, the question of the "Cultural Revolution" was particularly complicated; hence there were numerous heated arguments. Some said that the "Great Cultural Revolution" should be sweepingly negated; Some expressed the view that the "Great Cultural Revolution" should divide into two. Although they felt that on the whole nothing was correct in the "Cultural Revolution," it should still be concretely analyzed and things should be judged separately. Premier Zhou Enlai took charge of the Central Committee's work in 1972 and in his political report to the Fourth NPC he exposed and criticized Lin Biao. This was correct. In 1975, Deng Xiaoping took

charge and there was stability throughout the country. He put forward three directives as the key link. This was also correct. Thus, it cannot be said the "Great Cultural Revolution" was devoid of any merit. After the discussions, they basically held identical views. However, not all differences were resolved. For this reason, they sought common ground while reserving differences. The common ground was written into the draft and differences were expunged from it. For example, the words "bring calamity to the country and the people" which appeared in the draft, were crossed out in the final version. Some questions were evaded, and hence the draft looked equivocal. On the whole, however, the finalized "speech" took an unequivocal attitude toward the "Cultural Revolution."

[HK070946] A Good Lesson Taken

The forbidden zone was opened and blind worship of Mao Zedong was changed into a scientific evaluation of Mao Zedong. The political movements unleashed and led by Mao Zedong during the 20 years from 1957 to 1967 [as received] were negated one by one. That was virtually an evaluation of Mao Zedong. Many people attending the fourth plenum held that Mao Zedong rendered meritorious service in founding the republic and that his service cannot be obliterated. They felt that Mao Zedong Thought is not something belonging to a single person but the crystallization of the collective wisdom and practice, and that this thought must not be negated. However, at the same time they held that Mao Zedong made many mistakes. In particular, in his late years, he lived in the seclusion, separated himself from the masses and was ignorant of the situation outside. Because of this and also because of what the "gang of four" did to encircle him and keep him in the dark, Mao said and did many wrong things.

From the finalized version of Ye Jianying's speech it will be seen that today democracy is manifesting itself within the Chinese Communist Party. The era in which one person draws up the law may gradually pass away. This is a very good thing. On the other hand, it will also be seen from the process of writing and discussing the speech that in the upper echelon of the Chinese Communist Party more and more people are gradually emancipating their minds. This is proof of the results achieved in discussing the question of the criterion of truth.

Great Changes in Years

Two years ago, the remnant pernicious influence of the "gang of four" polluted the 11th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. At that time, Mao Zedong the deity was sacred. One could only eulogize and not disparage the "Great Cultural Revolution." As a result of the nationwide debate begun last May over the thesis that "practice is the sole criterion for testing truth," the ideological understanding of many people in the upper echelon of the CCP has been raised. Consequently, the third plenum brought order out of chaos and successfully emancipated

people's minds. On this basis, plus further study of the criterion of truth and the development of the movement to emancipate people's minds, the people's understanding of the ideological line has been further enhanced. This is a basic factor in the fourth plenum's approval of Ye Jianying's sharp statements.

Geng Given New Post, Ji To Take Charge of Tourism

Recently, Deng Xiaoping suggested that the correct ideological and political line should be guaranteed by an organizational line. In this connection, the CCP Central Committee has immediately done this. It is said that preparations are being made to rectify leading groups at all levels in 2 to 3 years by removing those leading cadres whose ideological line is incorrect and who have formed factions and refused to mend their ways. This work has actually begun. In Hebei Province, the "cold wind in spring" has begun to blow. Liu Zihou, first secretary of the provincial CCP committee, is identified as the behind-the-scenes backer of the sinister article, "'Singing Praise of Virtue' and 'Lacking in Virtue.'" As a result, Jiang Yizhen, who supports the line of the third plenum, has been instructed to go to the province and assume the post of second secretary. At the fourth plenum, Zhao Ziyang and Peng Zhen were brought into the Politburo and Liu Lanpo, An Ziwen, Li Chang, Yang Shangkun, Zhou Yang, Liu Dingyi, Hong Xuezhai, Peng Zhen, Jiang Nanxiang, and Po Yipo were elected members of the Central Committee. This will help strengthen the leadership of the CCP Central Committee and the Politburo.

It is said that around the time the fourth plenum was held, the Chinese Communist Party has made some important personnel changes:

Geng Biao will take up the post of secretary general of the Military Commission, to fill the vacancy left by Lo Ruiqing.

Ji Pengfei will replace Geng Biao and take charge of foreign affairs in the State Council (both Geng and Ji are vice premiers). Ji Dengkui, previously in charge of agriculture, is now in charge of tourism.

[HK070950] It has been proposed that Xi Zhongxun be transferred to the Central Committee and Yang Shangkun be named first secretary of Guangzhou Province. (Xi Zhongxun does not want to be an "official in Beijing" since as he says, he has achieved nothing in Guangdong to deserve this promotion.

There are reports from the upper echelon in Beijing that Hu Yaobang may be appointed secretary general of the CCP Central Committee (the last secretary general of the CCP Central Committee was Deng Xiaoping). Although the fourth plenum did not make a decision, it is generally believed that this will be announced at the 12th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party.

Liu Shaoqi To Be Rehabilitated Next Year

When will the 12th CCP National Congress be held? The present news says that it will take place next autumn. But the dates of CCP conferences frequently change. They may be held in advance at one time and postponed at another.

The fourth plenum did not make a decision on the Liu Shaoqi question. However, it is believed that the 12th National Congress will throw overboard the resolution on Liu Shaoqi passed at the 12th plenum of the Eighth CCP Central Committee, and rehabilitate Liu Shaoqi.

Deng's Influence Has Increased

In his National Day speech, Ye Jianying's basic negation of Mao Zedong's political movements in the 20 years after 1957, and the changes in the CCP Central Committee personnel show two things: The Ye-Hua-Deng system and Deng's influence in the party and in the political and military spheres have been increasingly strengthened. The force which opposed the third plenum has been weakened considerably.

If the line of the third plenum is implemented, China may change its weakness into strength, poverty into riches and small order into big order. Strengthening the political position of the exponents of this line will signify an optimistic future for China. To be sure, optimism does not mean that there will not be any storms. Difficulties will still be great and there will be many problems. However, compared with the past unstable political situation, strengthening stability and unity is a big improvement. Without stability and unity, no cause can prosper and develop.

Yuan Shuipai's Tragicomedy

The Chinese Communist Party is broadening its scope of uniting with more people. Allowing Ji Dengkui to take charge of tourism is a test of his enthusiasm. Those who were made cat's-paws by the "gang of four" but were not their sworn confederates are being allowed to embark upon work posts one by one. It is said that Yuan Shuipai and Hong Xiannu will be given an opportunity to attend the forthcoming National Congress of Writers and Artists.

As far as Yuan Shuipai is concerned, this should have been a happy event, but it became a tragedy. This is what happened: The Ministry of Culture sent written notices to those who were to attend the congress. The notice was sent to Yuan's home, but he was not there. His wife asked the messenger to leave it there. Since Yuan had to sign the receipt, it was not left at Yuan's home. Later, Yuan received the notice at the Ministry of Culture and he was greatly delighted. He told himself that since he would attend the congress his problem would probably be solved. He came home in high spirits. When he arrived at home he found his wife

dead from a heart attack. Perhaps she feared that the notice from the Ministry of Culture was bad news and her heart gave out. Yuan Shuipai said: I thought I got a lifesaving charm, and instead I got a death-hastening charm.

People in Beijing literary and art circles are not surprised at Yuan's "come-back." Hu Yaobang said long ago: "Yuan Shuipai only made films! What should we do? Should we allow him to carry on the job? I think the best way is to give him a chance. Righteous indignation is valuable, but righteous indignation cannot replace policy. We must learn how to reform man while reforming the society." It is thought that Hao Liang, Liu Qingyi and Zhuang Zedong will make a "come-back" one by one.

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PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG JOURNAL GIVES SKETCH OF WEI JINGSHENG'S CAREER

HK060545 Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 25, 1 Nov 79 pp 20-23 HK

[Article by Hsieh Hsiang-chih: "What Beijing People Say About Wei Jingsheng"]

[Excerpt] At the time I went to Beijing in October to visit my relatives, it happened that Wei Jingsheng and Fu Yuehua were on trial. While in Hong Kong I heard about their celebrated names. This year they have become personages in the news, attracting international attention. Naturally I have taken an interest in them.

In the second evening after Wei Jingsheng was sentenced, several young people came to the home of my cousin. These young people are interested in affairs of state and often go to the Xidan Democracy Wall to read big-character posters. We sat close together and our topics centered on Wei Jingsheng as if by prior agreement. Anxious to know something about Wei Jingsheng, I took the chance to inquire about him.

Wei's Family Origin

"Is Wei Jingsheng a worker?"

"Yes, he is an electrician at the administrative office of the Beijing Zoological Garden. Once he was a soldier," a young fellow told me.

"What are his parents?" I asked.

"Cadres, quite senior."

"Senior cadres?" I was astonished. "Senior cadres generally have prerogatives, don't they? Then why did he write articles saying: 'The tragedy is that in our people's republic only those who lead leisurely lives, eat to their full and do nothing but read books and practice calligraphy have the controlling power. Can it be said that the people do not have every reason to wrest power from the hands of these lords?' Does he want to call on people to seize his power? Does he himself dislike prerogatives?"

"Humph! Had Wei wanted to fight for prerogatives for himself he would not have written such articles," another young hothead said to me in retort.

I felt my question was impertinent. I hastened to change the subject. "Wei's parents are senior cadres. Since his childhood, he has been nurtured and educated in Marxism-Leninism. How is it that he has departed from the classics and rebelled against orthodoxy?"

An "Old Red Guard" Who Was Once Imprisoned

An experienced and prudent youth answered my question. "There is nothing strange about it. Children of senior cadres have embarked upon this road. Don't you know that Yang Guang, Liu Jingsheng and Ren Wandong who were under arrest around the time of Wei's arrest are all children of cadres? Wei Jingsheng may be a typical example. As I have heard, at the early stage of the Cultural Revolution Wei Jingsheng was an 'old Red Guard.' He was then in his teens. With his mind confused and poisoned by the 'theory of blood lineage' he considered himself 'born Red' and 'revolutionary by nature.' Like most of the 'old Red Guards' he rebelled, destroyed the four olds, searched people's houses, confiscated their property and beat them up. They were fanatic worshippers of Mao Zedong Thought. However, 3 or 4 months after they made 'revolution' and 'rebelled,' the Central Cultural Revolution Group suddenly issued an order saying that the old Red Guards were carrying out the reactionary line of the bourgeoisie and must be criticized. It was a head-on blow to them. It suddenly sobered them up. 'You let us rebel, yet now you accuse us of carrying out the reactionary line of the bourgeoisie!' This made a number of old Red Guards embark upon the road of 'rebellion.' Judging from China's younger generation, those who are the first to 'rebel' are precisely the old Red Guards who were the most fanatic and devout at the start. After they were abandoned by the Central Cultural Revolution Group, these old Red Guards set up an organization called the 'United Action Committee' toward the end of 1966. They wrote big-character posters against the Central Cultural Revolution Group and sent out handbills lashing out at Jiang Qing. They organized people to lash out at the Public Security Ministry six times in their attempt to rescue their comrades of the 'United Action Committee,' who were imprisoned by the ministry. I have heard Wei Jingsheng was a member of the 'United Action Committee' and was once under arrest. All members of the 'United Action Committee' who had been arrested were set free on 22 April 1967. Thus, Wei Jingsheng was not long in prison that time. He was imprisoned for about 3 months.

Publication of TANSUO Started

"Since then, he has remained an 'idler' and has no longer thrown himself into successive 'struggles' and 'movements' in society. Wei has read many books at home. Since his parents are senior cadres, they have many

books and materials at home. He has read the classic works of Marx and Lenin. He has also read Western bourgeois classics and many modern works. This is the ideological background which made him rebel against orthodox teachings."

"It looks like Wei's thoughts of rebellion against orthodox teachings took shape long ago."

"Right."

"When did he write those articles rebelling against orthodox teachings?"

"I am not clear about the exact time. His 'The Fifth Modernization' appeared on Xidan's Democracy Wall last December. TANSUO had not yet been started at that time."

[HK060550] "When was TANSUO started?"

"On 9 January this year. Its first issue smacked of rebellion against orthodox teachings. I remember that the foreword to the periodical said in clear terms: We do not recognize certain theories as absolutely correct, nor do we consider certain people to be absolutely correct."

"Do you have the full text of its foreword? I am eager to read it," I asked him.

The young fellow fished out a notebook from his pocket and, thumbing through it, said to me: "Maybe I have copied it here. Let me see." Soon he found it and passed it to me.

I took it and read it carefully. The foreword sets forth four aims of the TANSUO magazine:

"1. Take the freedoms of speech, publication and assembly bestowed by the constitution as the guiding principle.

"2. Strive to take the reality of past records of China and the world as the basis of exploration. We do not recognize certain theories as absolutely correct, nor do we consider certain people to be absolutely correct. All theories including the existing ones and those yet to appear are the objects of our discussion and may serve as the tools of analysis and exploration.

"3. Our basic orientation is to become one of the spokesmen for the common people who suffer hardships and calamities and to find out the cause of backwardness of the Chinese society. Only by letting the vast majority of the common people who are powerless and badly off speak out, is it possible to discover the cause of our backwardness and the way for us to shake it off. Such a way is the truth our publication is attempting to discover.

"4. Our publication is prepared to serve as the field in which people explore social problems without restraint and is opposed to any coarse invectives. Our publication grew up in the tide against bureaucratic politics during the Cultural Revolution and in the tide of the Xidan Democracy Wall against autocratic rule. We oppose any utterances and theories that uphold bureaucratism and dictatorial fascism and we reject the right of those who do not give or are not prepared to give freedom to other people to express opinions freely."

Big-Character Poster Criticizing Deng Xiaoping

While I was carefully reading the "foreword," these young people chatted together.

One said: "At the time Fu Yuehua was under arrest, Wei Jingsheng made some desperate efforts to rescue her. Unexpectedly, he was sentenced ahead of Fu Yuehua."

"Oh, yes," another said. "He and the reporters of other people-run publications went to the Public Security Bureau to make representations. Later, he put up a big-character poster on Democracy Wall lodging a protest with the authorities."

"Wei Jingsheng did go too far in some respects," still another one spoke out. "Remember his big-character poster put up this March criticizing Deng Xiaoping? Without sufficient grounds he arbitrarily said Deng was a careerist worming his way into the people's confidence."

"Did he write a big-character poster criticizing Deng Xiaoping?" I asked.

"Yes! On 16 March this year Deng Xiaoping made a speech putting forward the 'four upholds.' Furthermore, he mentioned: 'Without Chairman Mao there would have been no new China.' Wei Jingsheng wrote a poster forthwith, expressing his objection. The title of his article is 'Democracy or New Dictatorship?'"

The article says: "In his speech to leading cadres of the central departments and committees on 16 March, Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping attempted to use people's past confidence in him to oppose the democratic movement. Attempting to impute to the democratic movement the failure of the Hua-Deng political system to save China's economy and production, he imposed various charges on the democratic movement. Once again he used the people as the scapegoat for their policy."

"At a time when the people universally demanded that the cause of China's backwardness over the past 30 years and the crimes committed by Mao Zedong against the Chinese people be discovered, he was the first one to jump out and say, 'Without Mao Zedong there would have been no new China.' In his 16 March speech, he not only stuck stubbornly to these words but

also praised Mao Zedong openly as the banner of the Chinese nation saying that Mao's shortcomings were next to nothing." "Is he afraid that investigation into Mao's mistakes will involve this past partner of his, or is he prepared to carry on the dictatorial socialist politics of the Mao Zedong type? He is traversing a road of exercising dictatorship after winning his way into people's confidence."

[HX060355] Wei Jingsheng's Girlfriend

When these young people talked about Wei Jingsheng's viewpoint, there was an animated discussion. They argued back and forth. Everybody talked about the matter. Suddenly a young fellow cut them short: "Let's stop arguing. I remember an anecdote heard this afternoon about Wei Jingsheng's girlfriend. Would you like to hear what I am going to say?"

"What anecdote?" they all asked trying to get a word in.

"It is about Wei's girlfriend."

"Girlfriend?" they said out of curiosity.

"Is it that girl mentioned on 'Democracy Wall'?" that hothead asked.

I was also interested. I hastened to question closely.

"That big-character poster says that after Wei Jingsheng was arrested, plainclothes public security men came to the home of that girlfriend and deceived her, saying they were Wei's friends and that Wei had asked them to come to get some materials. The girl did give all the materials to these men."

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

DISCUSSION ON POLICY OF CONCESSIONS DURING EARLY MING DYNASTY

Shanghai XUESHU YUEKAN [Academic Monthly] in Chinese No 6, 20 Jun 79
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[Article by Jian Xiuwei [4675 0208 355]]

[Text] There are two viewpoints among historians as to whether a new dynasty that starts out afresh after the conclusion of a large-scale peasant war is following a policy and practice of concessions or of counterattacks and retaliations. If the view is now again being advanced that it was a policy of concessions, and if that view can be made the topic of a discussion, it shows that yet another taboo is being pierced in historical studies and that a democratic atmosphere is being restored in academic research in observance of the policy of letting a hundred schools of thought contend.

The policy of concessions is a political phenomenon that we find throughout history as well as in the reality of today. The viewpoint that a policy of concessions prevailed not only affirms the direct effectiveness of peasant wars, but at the same time also clarifies its indirect effectiveness; it not only reveals the true character of the policy followed by the landlord class, but also affirms its influence on the course of history. This conforms with the class viewpoint of Marxism and the principle of historicity.

The present article uses the policy in the early years of the Ming Dynasty as example and will present some rough and superficial remarks on the reasons for the "policy of concessions" to be initiated, its effectiveness and theoretical demarcation lines. Please criticize and correct any inappropriate statements.

1. In a class society, the political policy is the concentrated manifestation of the fundamental interests of the ruling class. This is a universal

principle that no ruling class will ever violate, whatever its policy or practice. However, there can often be situations in history where the basic interests of the ruling class remain unchanged, while policy changes occur, sometimes even very obvious changes. If such changes are not acknowledged it would mean taking too simple a view of the complex historical phenomena and making it then also impossible to correctly explain history.

As to the feudal society, the fundamental interests of the landlord class are the exploitation and oppression of the laboring masses, mainly composed of peasants. However, the feudal dynasties, always out to safeguard the fundamental interests of the landlord class, may adopt either a stringent or relaxed, a fierce or lenient policy. Expressions of such stringent and fierce policies are such sayings as, "Taxes and levies are becoming heavier and conscriptions and corvee duties are increasing," or "Laws, regulations, punishments and fines are getting more severe by the day." Expressions of relaxed or lenient policies are such sayings as, "Ruling without active interferences" or "Allowing the people a respite," or "Light corvee duty and light taxes." The former is a policy of frenzied attacks by the landlord class against the peasantry, the latter is a policy of temporarily desisting from such attacks and adopting rather lenient measures, which may be called a policy of concessions.

Why did the landlord class adopt different policies at different times? The reason is not that there are differences in the innate character of the various ruling cliques of the landlord class, also not that changes may have occurred in the nature of the fundamental contradictions in society and of course also not that the differences are due to the rise or decline of the feudal society. The reasons for the policy changes are, firstly, the new changed balance of class forces brought about by a large-scale peasant war, and, secondly, the new, changed economic conditions in the society. This new situation of a changed balance of class forces and the new economic conditions in society show up a weakening of the political and economic strength of the landlord class; it is not a sign of its increasing strength. The political situation and the economic conditions in the wake of a large-scale peasant war is being considered in comparison with the situation before the outbreak of the peasant war, but the two kinds of changes, as determining the policy of the ruling clique of the new dynasty, are irresistible restrictive forces, one may even say objective law which at the time cannot be altered by the will of the landlord class. If they fail to determine or carry out the new policy under the compulsion and in conformity with this law, they will not be able to establish or maintain their own effective rule. In the history of our country, every dynasty that was established in the wake of a large-scale peasant war, always recognized the restrictions of the new situation of the class struggle and the changes in the socio-economic conditions and implemented adjustments and changes of policy, only thus could they achieve a consolidation of their regime. This is historical dialectics, expressed in such sayings as "Follow the trend and you will persist, run counter to the trend and you will perish." The policy in the early years of the Ming Dynasty is also the product of these two restrictive forces and also a manifestation of historical dialectics.

1) The direct effect of the peasant uprising at the end of the Yuan Dynasty was a change in the balance of class forces. The peasant war at the end of the Yuan Dynasty, from 1351 to 1368, was a peasant revolt on a large scale and over an extended period of time. The army of the Red Turbans, under the banner of "fighting inequity," overthrew the united regime of Mongol and Chinese landed nobility and assaulted the feudal system of the last years of the Yuan Dynasty, dealing severe blows to the landlord class and creating deepgoing social upheaval.

The peasant revolution weakened the political power of the landlord class. The storm of the peasant revolution first dealt a blow to the patriarchal, feudal despotic gentry and the big clans. In Jiangxi "people banded together and rose up in desperation; they killed and plundered the influential families."¹ In Shandong they created a situation where "only few families remained of the many influential clans of the past."² At the same time they eliminated many of the feudal forces, causing a "dispersal and decimation of the notable and powerful families," or had "the powerful families and noble clans south and north of the Yangtse either perish in the gullies and ravines or flee in all directions."

The peasant revolution also extensively wiped out the economic power of the landlords. Wherever the Red Turban army went, they "plundered" and "looted" all the movable property of the powerful families and influential clans, burned down administrative buildings and the beautiful residences of the rich. The "Gui chao gao" of the "Wang Fo-zi yin-zhuang" records: "When the Red Turbans seized Changzhou, Fo-zi lay sick at home; the rebels arrived en masse and plundered everything he had." In the "Wu xi ji" by Wang Feng it says: "When the Red Turbans captured Shuo...they seized the city by surprise and completely sacked it." After Zhu Yuanzhang had undergone his transformation, he also accused the Red Turbans of "devastating cities and suburbs and murdering scholars and officials."

The curses of the landlord class enable us to imagine the picture of the tempestuous revolution. The revolution, this supreme power, directly brought about the change in the class forces: "That any of the great traditional families and clans remained undefiled by the rebels, that they could preserve their houses, restore them to former splendor or have them flourish again in later years, was a thing rarely experienced throughout the lands."³ The great force of the revolution directly smashed the feudal order: "None would dare to be a corrupt or greedy official,"⁴ "Census records were all destroyed,"⁵ "Most people gave up all studies."⁶

2) The socio-economic conditions are constraining forces that permit no resistance.

In his "The Poverty of Philosophy," Marx uses the phrase: "The rulers must at all times obey economic laws; they have never been able to order about economic conditions at their own free will."

The economic conditions in the early years of the Ming Dynasty present a picture of sharply decreased population, desolate and uncultivated lands, destitute production and a people in dire poverty. In the north the areas of Honan and Shandong were "to the greater part completely depopulated," and the great plain of Hobei was even more a picture of "roads blocked by brambles and land without human habitations," with "human skeletons heaped high." In the south, in the Yangtse and Huai river basins in Anhui, it was also a country "with hardly any inhabitants for miles and miles. There was only dust raised by the wind." Wuling in Hunan had become "a vast area with sparse population. Most of the land was left barren and little was cultivated." This state of socio-economic bankruptcy was brought about by 8, 9, 10 years of Yuan Dynasty rule, especially as a result of the cruel suppression of the peasant revolt and destruction of the national economy by the Mongol and Chinese landed nobility. The economy was indeed already at the brink of collapse at the start of the Ming Dynasty.

Economic conditions had already separated the peasants from the soil and simple reproduction was impossible. The direct result was: the landed nobility could not squeeze out even the lowest rent, and the Ming Dynasty had no way of obtaining revenue from taxes and levies. In his "Critique of the Gotha Programme," Marx said: "Taxes and levies are the economic basis for the state apparatus." This points out, from the taxation angle, the restrictive relation of economic conditions over the political powers of the state. It was no exception in the case of the restrictive economic forces experienced by Zhu Yuanzhang; already 2 years before the establishment of the Ming Dynasty, that is in 1366, he already once realized the relationship between production and taxation, when he said:

"As long as the chaos continues, people will move away and give up their productive activities, but a state at war derives most of its needed revenue from the people. If the people are kept from devoting all their strength to agriculture, where could the state derive its needed revenue from."⁷

In 1370, the magistrate of Zhengzhou, Su Qi, wrote the following in his report to his superior:

"In the last 10 years, farmland and mulberry plantations have become brushovergrown wilderness. Commanders of armies are now ordered to expand and pacify the empire, but if the people are not induced to return to cultivate the fields and restore the plants to cultivation, it is to be feared that the resources of the state will become exhausted."⁸

This shows how pressing the question of economic bankruptcy was for the Ming in establishing and consolidating its regime. It compelled the ruler to decide immediately on a policy that would insure building up and maintaining effective rule of his class, and the purpose of this rule was then the restoration and development of economic strength. He was in no position to issue any kind of orders at will, as otherwise he would have dug his own grave. This is an instance where the economic law effectively imposed restrictions.

To sum up, it is clear that the ruling clique of the Ming Dynasty was facing two phenomena: one was the state of the balance of class forces in the wake of the peasant war, and the other, the state of socio-economic conditions. Examining the former, we see that the peasantry lost the war, but they overthrew the old regime, weakened the strength of the landlord class and smashed the feudal order, so that in their defeat there were elements of victory and one cannot say that the peasantry had suffered a complete defeat as a class. The landlord class, although victorious in the civil war, had suffered greatly; the feudal regime was only starting to reestablish itself and the feudal order still awaited reinstitution, so that its victory contained the vestiges of defeat. Examining the latter we see that the system of land ownership, the backbone of the feudal order, was weakened, large tracts of land reverted to the peasants, innumerable peasant workers roamed the country outside of their places of census registry and the situation became one of untended fields, destroyed census records, desolate production, economic collapse and great difficulties in collecting any taxes. Looking at these economic conditions we see that the landlord class was much weakened as compared with conditions in the former dynasty, which also indicates that the victors bore the scars of defeat all over their bodies. In short, the landlord class had only won an empty victory and no strong victory, whether assessed on the basis of political strength or economic strength.

In this extraordinary and special period of time, the landlord class lost positions it had held before the revolutionary peasant war and had to face new political and economic conditions. The victorious landlord class was therefore compelled to comply with the new situation and new conditions and could not go against the historical trend. This was the direct effect of the peasant war and the restrictive bind on the new dynasty's policies.

The reasons why the ruling clique in the early years of the new dynasty could accept the conditions of the new reality cannot be discussed without an understanding of the defeat of the preceding dynasty. If we assert that the ruling clique of the former dynasty were a bunch of crazy and stupid people, the men of the new dynasty's ruling clique were indeed much more enlightened people. Not only did they adopt rather enlightened measures to cope with their reality, but also adopted a fairly enlightened attitude of objectivity toward history. Only in this way was it possible for them to sum up the experiences of past rule, but also to place policy-making on a fairly realistic basis. The ruling men in every exploitative class throughout history have only forcibly, but never self-consciously, taken note of history and summed up the experience of past rule. Their knowledge and summing up is always inseparably linked with the revolutionary storm they have just weathered or with the revolutionary movements of past history. Speaking of China's feudal society, because the change of dynasties was mostly brought about by peasant wars, Li Shimin said:

"If we look into the past as into a kind of mirror, we can know about the rise and fall of dynasties."⁹

Zhu Yuanzhang said:

"The immoral rulers of the past, such as Xia Jie, Shang Zhou, Qinshihuang, Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty, all their actions...can serve as example and warning. When I look at them, I wish to know the reason for their demise and turmoil so that it may serve me as warning."¹⁰

When Zhu Yuanzhang was summing up the actions of these rulers who ruined their states and was checking the reasons for their demise and turmoil, he will certainly have come across the reasons for the uprising of the peasantry and the mistakes in policy, and out of these facts will have gained an experience as to how to consolidate the rule of the landlord class.

In general, the summing up of the experiences of past rule by the landlord class concentrates on the measures and procedures of exploitation and suppression, and the ruling clique in the early years of the Ming Dynasty was no different in this respect.

Firstly, politics were summed up into a policy of employing civil as well as military means and a moderate attitude between the lenient and the fierce. From the past experiences of the rise and fall of the many dynasties, Zhu Yuanzhang drew the following lesson:

"Humaneness and righteousness are like fat meat and fine grain that nourishes the people. Penalties and punishments are like remedies to chastise the evil. Politicians who abandon all humaneness and righteousness and only wield punishments will poison the people with their 'remedies'; this is certainly not the way of good government."¹¹

"Humaneness and righteousness" and punishments are the two kinds of policies, the civil and the military policies, used by the ruling class, their method which remains always the same, despite all apparent changes. However, in actual application there is a difference in guiding ideology. Behind the civil and military policies there is the ideological question of lenient or fierce strategy. In the case of Zhu Yuanzhang, "abandoning humaneness and righteousness and merely wielding punishments" does not mean to rule the state in one way. It is furthermore a method of following no strategic ideology at all in abandoning the lenient and following the fierce line, a way that he will not adopt. Under the ideological guidance of a strategy of moderation between the lenient and the fierce, Zhu Yuanzhang advocated carrying out the double-policy of civil and military measures. He said: "Generally speaking, the way of Sacred Kings was to be lenient but with restrictions, but not to take abandonment of all rules as leniency, to be simple but maintain moral integrity, but not to take rudeness as being simple, apply these with moderation and you will not be at fault?"¹²

Secondly, in economic respects, policy is determined by integrating the present exploitative interests with those in the more distant future. As many examples can be found throughout history for cruel exploitation leading to peasant uprisings, the landlord class in summing up the experiences of past rules will therefore always give consideration to the relationship

of present interests and the interests in the more distant future. This is also a question of strategic ideology. Speaking of the true character of the exploiting class, a maximum of exploitation is what would well manifest their greedy aspiration. However, in view of the economic conditions of the present reality, the exploitative, and daily growing, greed cannot be satisfied. There is here a contradiction in actual substance. The ruling clique of the preceding dynasty, in trying to satisfy their greed, did not pay attention to the objective conditions, but used methods that considered only presentday profits, the method of "drying out the pond to catch all the fish in it," or "burning down a forest to cultivate more land." As a result, they aggravated the contradiction between the production relations and the productive force, and also between the superstructure and the economic base, to be finally overthrown by the peasantry. The main figure determining policy in the early years of the Ming Dynasty, Zhu Yuanzhang, drew a lesson from the defeat of the economic policy of the preceding dynasty, adopted a policy of integrating the immediate and the more remote future exploitative interests, or, in other words, adopted a policy of squarely facing the economic conditions of the prevailing reality and not violating the economic law. He said: "The empire has been newly consolidated. The common people are in great material difficulties. Remindful of the saying that a young bird about to take its first flight should not have its feathers plucked, or that a newly planted tree must not have its roots disturbed, the people must be quietly nurtured and left to build up their strength."¹³

Examining the strategic ideology and policy measures of the ruling clique during the early years of the Ming Dynasty, we see that what is very different compared with the preceding dynasty is that they adjusted and changed the strategy and policy that had failed and did not stay in the old rut. Although the changes did not infringe on the basic interests of the landlord class, they conformed to the state of the prevailing balance of class forces and the economic conditions of the society and were therefore effective in alleviating, rather than aggravating, the class contradictions. We cannot acknowledge that as soon as the exploiting class relinquishes its basic interests, that constitutes a policy of concessions. Only if a policy is followed that is different from the policy of the preceding dynasty, which was one of "empoverishing all the people to satisfy the dynasty's greed" or of "consuming all resources of the empire to provide for the government," that is, if a policy is followed that will help alleviate the class contradictions and conform with the changes and adjustments in the economic conditions of the prevailing reality, that would have to be called a policy of concessions.

For the reasons why the ruling clique of the new dynasty could carry out adjustments and changes in its policy, we must first look at the direct effects of the peasant war and at the same time we must look at its indirect effects. The direct effects are the foundation for the indirect effects, and the indirect effects are the reflections of the direct effects. The direct effects transform the production relations and the decayed parts

and sections of the superstructure and create conditions for the development of the productive force, while the indirect effects were a knowledge and utilization of these conditions by the ruling clique of the new dynasty, an acknowledgement of the results of the direct effects and also a transformation of them into a policy more in conformity with the prevailing reality and therefore helpful for the restoration and development or production. We therefore have to admit that the ruling clique of the new dynasty had been able to sum up the experiences of past rule and to adopt a policy of concessions, of moderation between leniency and strictness, because such a policy was helping on the historical development and not impeding historical development, or at least had the effect of advancing history. If we don't carry out an analytical comparison of the policies and practices of the new and the old dynasties, if we do not acknowledge the indirect effects, which in fact would be negating the direct effects, the result would be to depreciate the effects of the peasant war and inflate the effectiveness of the ruling class. Theories of counterattack and retaliation appear on the surface as revealing the true class character of the new dynasty's policy, but in actual fact are covering up the true, feeble character of the landlord class. The conditions of the landlord class are different at different times; conditions which were present in the landlord class during the preceding dynasty are not necessarily present at the time of the new dynasty. Policy is determined by conditions. If the conditions change, policy may change from an aggressive one to one of concessions. In the same manner, once conditions mature, policy may again change from one of concessions to one of aggressiveness. However, the theories of counterattack and retaliation, that is, theories of constant attack without analysis of conditions, are theories that would allow the landlord class to willfully issue orders and decrees at all times without regard for conditions.

2. In his article "On Coalition Government," Chairman Mao expressed himself in this way: "Whether the policies and practices of every political party in China are good or bad for the Chinese people, and the extent of their effectiveness, must, in the final analysis, be evaluated by whether they help, and to what extent they help, the development of the productive force of the Chinese people, and also whether they fetter the productive force or liberate the productive force."

The spirit of this important statement, which clarifies the mutual reactions between the production relations and the productive force, between the superstructure and the economic base and between politics and economics, is of a universal guiding significance. I therefore believe it can be applied to guide us in analyzing and assessing the policies and practices of feudal government.

Speaking of Zhu Yuanzhang's policies and practices during the early years of the Ming Dynasty, although there can be no talk of liberating the productive force, they also did not fetter the productive force, correctly expressed, they had a favorable influence, and were of assistance, for the restoration of the productive force and for the development of the social economy, especially where agriculture was concerned, their effects were as follows:

Firstly, in the land question, he adopted a policy--always under the precondition of preserving the system of ownership by landlords--of increasing small land ownership by peasants tilling their own land after the peasant war. This was giving approval to changes in land relationships that had actually taken place in the peasant war.

A decree by Zhu Yuanzhang from the 1st year of Hongwu reads: "If people in the zhou and jun districts (referring mainly to landlords--the author) had abandoned their land due to the ravages of war, and someone else had raised a crop on the land, that land should be left on the tiller. If the owner returns, the official should allot him nearby wasteland of the same amount...."¹⁴

This historical material can all be read up in chapter 30 of the "Veritable Records of the Hongwu Reign of Emperor Taizu of the Ming Dynasty." The main point of this policy is not a denial of the ownership rights of landlords, but a protection of land ownership rights after a change in the possession of the land. However, we may also observe that this is neither counterattack nor retaliation, but a recognition of the fact that some land had passed into the hands of the peasants after the peasant war, and compared with the previous land holdings, it is making a kind of concession. It is a concession because it recognizes under law the right of peasants to land which they had taken into cultivation as wasteland, and it does not forcibly rob the peasants of this right in order to restore the old order. A supplemental clarification of this policy may be provided by quoting from a decree dated the 5th year of Hongwu: "If people driven from their homes return to take their land into cultivation in proportion to the number of their family members, they should not be limited to the area of old arable land."¹⁵ The people referred to are of course not all, but to the larger extent, peasants. Recognizing in law that peasants are not restricted in taking wasteland into cultivation was helpful to increase the ownership of land for the peasants' own cultivation. It was a great change compared with the loss of land experienced by peasants tilling their own land as happened during the preceding dynasty. The new system stimulated the productive zeal of the peasants, helped the restoration of agricultural production and was of assistance in developing the productive force.

Of course this policy of concessions was a limited and temporary one, because the recovery and development of the landlord economy very soon changed the concessions made by the feudal state. About 20 years later, a decree of the 24th year of Hongwu read: "Dukes and marquises, high officials and common people may be owners of land anywhere only as far as they plow land that bore crops." In the struggle to turn wasteland into arable land, the small peasant economy was always the weaker in comparison with the landlord economy. Whatever land the small peasant may open up for cultivation will always as a matter of course be swallowed up by the landlord economy. However, as limited and temporary as it had been, the concession that had been made must be recognized as such and must not be called a counterattack or retaliation.

Secondly, implementing a policy of lightening the tax burden to stimulate operating up wasteland for cultivation. In the 5th moon of the 3rd year

of Hongwu, the Ming emperor decreed: "Near the cities of the north, there is much neglected land. We call upon the people to take it into cultivation. Each person shall be given 15 mu and 2 mu of vegetable land, rent-free for 3 years." There were also repeatedly other edicts that "levies shall never be raised from additional wasteland taken into cultivation beyond the prescribed amount," or to the effect that such lands "shall never be taxed."

After the peasant war, there was much wasteland without owners, signifying a change in land ownership relations, but also as a sign of the crippled production force of the society. This state of affairs was good for the peasants who had little or no land and were intent on change, but it was dangerous for the existence and consolidation of the new dynasty, because the separation of peasants from the land meant that the state could not levy taxes. "The existence of a state expresses itself economically by taxation."¹⁶ The new dynasty, proceeding from the interest in increasing its tax revenue, not only made the concession of recognizing the peasants' ownership of wasteland which they had taken into cultivation, but also simultaneously of reducing levies and taxes to stimulate peasants to take wasteland into cultivation and thus to increase tax revenue. Although the policy of concessions of "light corvee duties and taxes" was most favorable for landlords with large land holdings, but as to the peasants who tilled their own land and had newly increased their land by taking wasteland into cultivation, it meant at least to be out of the predicament of limitless and ruthless taxation and helped the continuation and gradual increase in reproduction, at least it did so for a short period of time. Of course the policy of "light corvee duties and taxes" was basically of benefit to the long-term interests of the feudal regime, to have "revenue filling the treasury to overflowing," however it was to benefit to enhance the decrepit economy. As to the "never to be taxed," that was not to be taken for real.

Thirdly, as to freeing the people from serfdom, that was a policy of concessions. Vestiges of slavery are basically all along a part of feudal society. It is a natural phenomenon that cannot be changed or separated from exploitative systems, and it was especially, and on a large-scale, rampant during the Yuan Dynasty with its institution of the "qu-ding" and "qu-kou" [slavery]. Whether these vestiges of an ancient system were protected and preserved or whether they were restricted, reveals to us whether the policy of the feudal regime was progressive or not, and is also a sign whether it was making any concessions. In the wake of the peasant revolution that developed toward the end of the Yuan Dynasty, a forceful blow was struck at the vestiges of slavery. This is reflected in a poem by Bei Qiong: "When dark clouds gather over the north and the earth quivers in the south, will kings and barons dare to insult any longer, as the slaves arise in unison!"¹⁷

Zhu Yuanzhang was well-disposed toward the blows inflicted by the revolutionary war against the vestiges of the system of slavery and the liberation of the productive force, he particularly restricted and opposed the trend that peasants returned to a state of slavery. In the 5th moon of the 5th year of Hongwu, Zhu Yuanzhang issued a decree: "People who during the

disturbances became slaves shall again revert to the status of common people."¹⁸ The Ming Code of Law also prescribes: "Anyone who takes in the lost children of other families and instead of handing them over to the officials, sells them into slavery, shall be sentenced to hard labor." "Anyone who takes in escaping children and sells them into slavery, shall also be sentenced to hard labor."

Although this policy in the early years of the Ming Dynasty was by nature a fight over manpower between the feudal state and the slave-owners, the prohibition by legal provisions of reducing good citizens to slaves is undoubtedly progressive. It is certainly a policy of concessions if we compare it with the large-scale enslavement of peasants during the Yuan Dynasty.

3. Comparison is the basic method of distinguishing facts and things. Whether the policy followed by the new dynasty in the wake of the large-scale peasant war was a policy of concessions or of counterattack and reprisal, must also be determined by comparison so as to arrive at a conclusion that conforms with theory and practice.

Firstly, let us examine the policy of the new dynasty to see whether it alleviates the class contradictions. Whether the class contradictions are alleviated or aggravated is a criterion to distinguish whether the policy is one of concessions or a policy of counterattack and reprisal. The Book of Rites says: "Stringency without leniency makes civil and military tasks impossible. Leniency without stringency will make it impossible for civil or military action. Observing both stringency as well as leniency is the right way for civil and military affairs."

Stringency is a policy of aggressiveness; counterattack and reprisal can also be considered as stringent measures. Leniency is a policy of concessions. Aggressiveness will of course aggravate class contradictions while concessions can alleviate class contradictions.

Aggressiveness is the fundamental policy of the ruling class; concessions are used only if absolutely necessary under certain special conditions. Even though class contradictions were continuously aggravated during the rule of the preceding dynasty, even to the stage of "rainy gusts forwarn of the approaching storm," and even though reformers among the landlord class emotionally proclaimed "stringency as well as leniency together are the right way in civil and military affairs," the ruling clique did not intend to alleviate the class contradictions and rescue their rule from danger by changing their policy of aggression and change stringency into leniency. Whatever change there might have been, was abandoned half way. Only after the experience of the peasant war was the ruling clique ready to conscientiously sum up the relationship of the stringency-leniency policy with the efforts to control the turmoil. Zhu Yuanzhang said: "A precipitate step may lead to a stumble, a precipitate pull at the bowstring may make it snap, precipitate pressure on the people may bring turmoil." He also said: "The right way to maintain high office is to apply generosity at the right time." Precipitation is stringency, generosity is leniency. Following an aggressive policy of stringency and precipitation must result in turmoil. Following a policy of generosity and leniency will achieve perfect government.

The fundamental reason why the ruling clique of the new dynasty came to realize the direct relationship between the stringency-leniency policy and turmoil or good government was that the peasant war had sapped the vitality of the landlord class and that they had lost their fundamental interests. The landlord class of the new dynasty was therefore in urgent need of recovering its power and to recuperate and for this reason compelled to adopt a lenient and generous policy of concessions, to alleviate the class contradictions and thereby consolidate its rule. In these special historical conditions we can see that among the rulers and decision-makers of the new dynasty there was many a man with an eye for strategy, and we must not take them to have been a bunch of fools, but at the same time we must penetrate the outer appearance and realize that the policy of concessions that was to alleviate the class contradictions was only a by-product of the class war. Alleviation is the temporary armistice between the classes, but it is also the almost logical turning point in the form of violent class struggle. Without this turning point, the peasant war could not have been temporarily stopped and there would have been no social conditions for a recovery and development of production. In this sense, we must therefore realize the restraining effect of the peasant war on the policy of the ruling class, but must also correctly evaluate the positive effect which the new dynasty's policy of concessions has had on alleviating the class contradictions and on advancing historical developments. Those comrades who propound the theory of counterattack and reprisals only look at the aggressive policy of stringency followed by the ruling class and do not see the lenient policy of concessions followed under certain special circumstances. Their conclusion is therefore that counterattacks and reprisals prevailed, and of course that the class struggle was at all times tense and sharp, but in actual fact this is not the way to reconstruct history. This is a mechanical application of the class struggle theory as an absolute in history which does not conform with the conditions of real class struggle and also not with the historical reality of the class struggle. The law of class struggle contains stringency as well as leniency, advancing in undulations; a class struggle that would be tense at all times would not conform to the law of class struggle.

Secondly, when examining whether the policy in the early years of the Ming Dynasty was one of concessions or of counterattacks and reprisals, we should also check whether the social economy was one of recovery and development or one of stagnation and regression. This comparison is closely linked to the first comparison because if there is no alleviation of class contradictions, what talk could there be of recovery and development of the social economy.

The recovery and development of the social economy could only be achieved to the extent that changes or changed conditions were possible while feudal production relations fettered the productive force, in other words, it was only possible as the peasant war had transformed the production relations and transformed the superstructure. This is speaking of the motive force for the recovery and development of the social economy. However, the effects of the policy followed by the ruling class must also not be overlooked, because making concessions means to acknowledge the fact that the

peasant war transformed the production relations and the superstructure. Counterattacks and reprisals do not admit transformations by the peasant war and would therefore maintain a sharp state of class struggle, or even in a state of war. However, recovery and development of production is only possible after violent class struggle and subsequent mutual relaxation and not in a period of violent class struggle. This is because the former is stability and the latter turbulence.

The mitigating effect on class contradictions exercised by a policy of concessions is beneficial for the recovery of the social economy and will turn the results of the peasant revolution into material strength thanks to the assiduous labor of the working masses. The state of recovery and development demonstrated by the social economy in the early years of the Ming Dynasty testifies to this fact. For instance:

Land taken into cultivation was 770 qing in the 1st year of Hongwu, but by the 26th year of Hongwu had increased to 8,507,723 qing. Grain production was 20,889,617 dan in the 18th year of Hongwu but by the 26th year of Hongwu had increased to 32,789,800 dan. Although the above figures may not be very accurate, they at least reflect the trend of economic recovery and are certainly not signs of economic stagnation or regression.

When historians and bureaucrats of the feudal regime sing the praises of the "prosperous era," it is questionable whether they describe and record the true conditions of society, but I personally believe there is a certain veracity in their writings. Although we need not believe everything, we cannot dismiss it all as literary clichés, but must analyze, discard the false and retain the true, omit the empty phrases and accept statements of substance. For instance, the chapter on economics in the "History of the Ming Dynasty" remarks: "At that time the world was rich and populous and tax revenue filled the treasury to overflowing. Apart from the more than a million dan that were shipped to the capital grain was accumulating in large quantities in the provincial and prefectural granaries, some of it spoiling and becoming inedible." In another instance, Finance Minister Yu Xin reported in the 9th moon of the 28th year of Hongwu: "In the Jinan Prefecture of Shandong Province the storage facilities, Guang-chu and Guang-feng, were full with over 757,000 dan of grain...since there is such an accumulation of grain, some of it spoils year after year...."¹⁹

These data may not be altogether accurate in places, but basically they could be trusted, because as production recovered and developed, the amount and rate of exploitation by the Ming Dynasty was increased and raised. The policy of concessions, which gave consideration to the exploitative interests in the more remote future, showed good results, and the Ming government could squeeze from the peasantry more wealth than ever before. This does not reflect decrepit production or economic decay, but is rather a sign of recovery and development of the social economy. We must admit, such results could never have been achieved by a policy of counterattacks and reprisals that would have gone against the law of economy.

As to the relationship between the policy of concessions and that of counterattacks and reprisals, it is of course not one of absolute antagonistic opposites, but must be seen as one of mutual supplementation and alternating application. In general, after large-scale peasant wars, the new dynasty will make concessions in the economic field, but comparatively few in political respects. The ruling class will use economic concessions to gain a consolidation and greater strength for its political rule. When Zhu Yuanzhang made economic concessions, he was at the same time in the field of politics preparing for danger in times of peace and never neglected to be on guard against peasant revolutions. Once he warned his generals:

"Since olden times, emperors and kings were always apprehensive of danger even in times of peace and while still enjoying orderly government they prepared for possible turmoil. Now the empire is at the beginning of consolidation, how can we rashly assume that in the peace we are enjoying there is no need for vigilance! Looking at you it seems your wisdom and concern gives no heed to this but only thinks of enjoyments. The soldiers under your command are ignorant of the simplest exercises. In case of emergency, what use would they be?"²⁰

In an initial analysis of the policy during the early years of the Ming Dynasty, the only correct way, we feel, is to obtain the answer on the basis of an integration of theory with historical reality. We quote here a statement by Lenin on the question of concessions to guide us in a conscientious study of the dispute between the two viewpoints, one of concessions and one of counterattacks and reprisals.

Lenin said: "This kind of enemy requires to be dealt with most carefully, requires to make some concessions, and although these concessions are always insincere, not thoroughgoing, frequently completely false, apparently right but actually wrong and furthermore usually a cleverly camouflaged trap, still they must be counted as concessions...."²¹

This penetrating statement by Lenin contains two ideas: one is that concessions by the exploiting class to the exploited class are undeniably a political phenomenon of the class struggle, made under the constraint of the revolutionary class strength; and the other idea is that concessions must be regarded as strategy adopted by the exploiting class to protect its fundamental interests. However, both these two points make it clear that concessions are indeed being made and it would be incorrect to call them counterattacks and reprisals. That is the conclusion.

FOOTNOTES

1. Song Lian, "Song xue shi wen ji" [Collected Writings of Song Scholars], "Gu Lu-ling Zhang fu jun Guang-yuan fu mu jie ming."
2. Li Ji-ben, "Yi-shan wen-jí," Vol 1, "Song Li Shun-wen shi."

3. Xie Jin, "Xie xue shi quan ji," "Liu jun Xiang-xian mu zhi ming."
4. "Geng shen wai shi," Vol 1.
5. "Ming shi" [History of the Ming Dynasty], Vol 77, "Chapter on Economics."
6. "Ming Tai-zu hong-wu shi lu" [Veritable Records of Emperor Tai-su of the Ming Dynasty], Vol 30.
7. Ibid., Vol 16.
8. Ibid., Vol 50.
9. "Zhen guan zheng yao," "Ren xian."
10. "Ming Tai-zu hong-wu shi lu," Vol 15.
11. Ibid., Vol 61.
12. Ibid., Vol 36.
13. Ibid., Vol 35.
14. "Da Ming hui dian."
15. "Ming hui yao," Vol 52.
16. "Moral Criticism and Critical Moralism" in "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 181.
17. "Bei Qingjiang ji," Poem 8 "Huang-wan shu huai 22 yun ji Qian Sifu."
18. "Ming shi," Vol 1, "Ming Tai-zu ben ji."
19. "Ming Tai-zu hong-wu shi lu," Vol 141, Vol 39.
20. Ibid, Vol 141, Vol 39.
21. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 6, p 464.

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PARTY AND STATE

PROBLEMS OF SELECTING NEW LEADERS DISCUSSED

Hong Kong DONGXIANG [THE TRUTH] in Chinese No 12, 16 Sep 79 pp 4-6

[Article by Mu Wanqing [447 354A 7230]: "Is a Crisis Facing the Chinese Communists Concerning Successors: Looking From One Side at the 30th Anniversary of the PRC"]

[Text] In just over 10 days, it will be 30 years since the Communists established their government. The 30th anniversary will be a great national celebration, but now is a time when the whole country is quickly and strongly proceeding with economic readjustments so the Beijing leadership early leaked the news that this year's celebration activities should not be ostentatious and wasteful, rather they should be very simple. Therefore it is thought that Beijing will not have a large-scale military review or a grand carnival-type celebration.

Ye Jianying Will Make an Important Statement

But the 30th anniversary is after all an important day. Confucius said: "When 30 years old, I was established," that is to say the start of a person's maturity. When speaking of a country, it is also like that. For 30 years, the path trod by the Chinese Communists can be said to have been very rugged. There is a great need at this time to look back earnestly and gather together 30 years of "miscellaneous" experience and instruction, for its meaning is even greater in this time of eliminating chaos to restore order, of liberating thought, and of embarking on the Four Modernizations. According to visitors to Beijing, Beijing's decision-makers had in reality made the arrangements for the 30th anniversary celebration earlier: Chairman Ye Jianying would publish in the Chinese Communist newspapers an extremely important article generally in the nature of a National Day congratulatory in which he would review the experience and lessons of 30 years of revolutionary reconstruction. A draft of this article had already been distributed to the top level leaders in the provinces and municipalities for discussion to solicit their opinions. Those who read the draft have disclosed that the implications of this article were very broad; it suggested a new appraisal of the leaders of the revolution. Ye's published article gave people an impression of even handedness and carefulness, but the draft was very open and had several new judgments not previously seen.

Although the 30 years that the Chinese Communists have controlled the government is certainly not a long time, they have created a very pressing problem for continuing to implement and realize China's Four Modernizations line. This is the problem of successors and it is already being discussed among Beijing policy-makers. The high-level Chinese Communist cadres underwent several tens of years of bloody and fierce battles. When they established a government in 1949, they were all 50 or more years old and, over the succeeding 30 years, many of them were generals who lorded it over the world, but now all have fallen into old age.

Deng Xiaoping Raises the Question of Successors

If one pays attention to recent domestic newspapers, he will discover that Beijing's policy-makers have already focused on this question. In August, in both the Tianjin Municipal Expanded CCP Standing Committee Meeting and a high-ranking cadre meeting of PLA Nanjing Units, the issue of "the need to properly grasp and solve the problem of successors at a time when the old cadre are still present" was raised. Of these two meetings, the Tianjin Municipal CCP Central Committee's discussion especially focused on introducing new men. During the conference, Deng Xiaoping personally went to Tianjin to hear the collective report and moreover, gave an important talk in which how to properly solve the problem of successors was one topic. New China News Agency reported him as saying: the problem of selecting successors is "now the greatest and most pressing problem for the organizational line;" moreover, he suggested "now successors will be chosen from among those about 40 or 50, and three important criteria will be used in their selection. One is adherence to the political and ideological lines of the Third Plenum of the CCP Central Committee, another is to promote party spirit, not factional spirit, and the last is to be in good health and able to work an 8 hour day.

This way of strongly emphasizing the question of successors and, moreover, concretely suggesting the standards and conditions for them, albeit for the first time since the smashing of the "gang of four," still clearly shows the pressing nature of the problem. Placing among the three criteria the ability or inability to work 8 hours can be said to reflect, if we look at it from another angle, that because of their advanced age and weakened constitutions, some cadre already find it difficult to maintain these minimal working hours. Looking at it from this angle, the problem of successors for the Chinese Communists has already truly reached a crisis situation.

In reality as early as the war of words with the Soviets in the sixties, Mao Zedong had already paid attention to the question of successors and recognized that it was a matter relating to whether the regime established by the older generation can remain unchanged in color for hundreds and thousands of years and, more concretely, he proposed five criteria. During President Nixon's visit to China in 1972, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai also admitted that China's

leaders were so aged that it was a "gerontocratic state." During the Cultural Revolution, the three-in-one combination of the "old, middle-aged, and young" was started by Mao Zedong himself in an attempt to cultivate successors, but because of the lack of sound, reasonable, complete and detailed measures for implementation, this effort failed, in the main. The "young" of the "three-in-one combination," from the central to the local levels, such as Wang Hongwen (vice chairman of the party), Li Suwen, Yao Lianwei (vice chairman of the National People's Congress), Sun Jian, Wu Guixian (vice premier) on to Mao Yuanxin, Sun Yuguo, Chen Ada, Weng Senhe, Lai Keke (vice responsible person for the Provincial Revolutionary Committee or vice commander of a military region), all being high officials who "rose to high positions by helicopters," were all characters who engaged in treachery, beating, smashing, looting, trouble-making and who had no learning of any kind. The reasons for the failure of this attempt were complicated; Mao Zedong Thought, the lingering feudal thought in Chinese society, and the prevalence of nepotism in politics were all factors, while most fundamental was that the Chinese Communist Party and government organizations lacked well-structured selection and organizational methods.

The Chinese Communists' Policy-Makers Are Aged

The smashing of the "gang of four" was an important turning point for Chinese socialism's ability to continue its progress. Following the redressing of the numerous cases of injustice and error, from the center to the provinces, the old cadre, who had all greatly criticized the Cultural Revolution (including before the Cultural Revolution) and had been purged, were again put to work and again held real power at each level in the party, government, and army, which is fundamentally a good thing. Because the great majority of them had been baptized by fire, loyally and faithfully they generally maintained the good tradition of the Chinese Communist's period of warfare, but time shows no mercy to anyone and they share one deficiency--their advanced age. The majority of the key personnel in the Chinese Communists' central policy organizations and government bureaus are already 70 years old, for example Ye Jianying (81 years old), Deng Xiaoping (76), Li Xiannian (73), Chen Yun (81), Deng Yagchao (79), Xu Xiangqian (77), Nie Rongzhen (81), Liu Bocheng (82), Xu Shiyu (72), Wang Zhen (71), and Fang Yi (69). Also quite old are the newly emerged strong men such as Hu Yaobang, (66 years old), Yu Qili (69), and Zhang Tingfa (over 60 years old). Today the one that has important responsibilities (responsible for agriculture), Vice Premier Wang Renzhong is also 73 years old, and the newly appointed head of the Central Secretariat and Secretary General of the State Finance and Economic Commission Yao Yilin seems to be very young, but if one examines his background you will see he was born in 1911 and is therefore 68 years old.

The crisis of the aging of this class of leaders is also manifested in the highest ranks in the provinces and municipalities. Xi Zhongxun of Guangdong is 73, Yang Shangkun of Guangzhou is 75, Liao Zhigao of Fujian is 73,

Jiangxi's Jiang Weiqing is 72, Hubei's Chen Pixian is 67, and Jilin's Wang Enmao is 67, while the comparatively younger Peng Chong, Zhao Ziyang, Wan Li, An Pingsheng, Qiao Xiaoguang, Tie Ying, and Xu Jiatun all exceed 60 years old. Among the provincial level leadership, probably only Beijing's Lin Hujia, Shanxi's Yu Mingtao, Hunan's Mao Zhiyong, and Tianjin's Wei Da are near or less than 60 years old.

The Chinese Communist's grand blueprint for the year 2000 is to realize the Four Modernizations, but there are only 20 some years left and the physiological limits possibly make most of the present high-ranking cadre unable to lead the masses in striving for that day. The old cadres need to hand over responsibility, this is the irresistible law of nature. Although there are some people who are afraid to mention or do not dare to come to grips with this situation, that attitude of avoiding reality can only damage China's revolution and reconstruction.

The Political Fantasy in "Beijing Spring"

Deng Xiaoping has emphasized settling the problem of successors, it seems, directing attention not only to the distant future but also to very realistically preparing today. Now the leadership stratum in Beijing, in order to guarantee the important turning point in work proposed by the Third National People's Congress and the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, is asking for "tutoring" in each province, municipality, and large military region, thoroughly starting a debate on the problem using the truth as a standard. Why do they want "tutoring?" It is only because there are some cadres who still firmly adhere to the "whatever" point of view and there are still some cadres whose thought is inflexible, who are severely obstructing the implementation of each policy in the process of modernization, reconstruction, and the reform of the system. This explanation has a proper political line, but still needs a proper organizational line, for added security. The organizational line is to select only good successors.

There is still one even more serious and completely practical problem, most recently the Beijing underground journal "Beijing Spring" published a political fantasy "The Year 2000" that gave rise to very great concern around the democracy wall. It described a China in the year 1998, when an honored leader dies and, shortly after, on the stage of the Chinese Communist government there occurs a "gang-of-four-style" coup and China again falls under feudal-fascist-dictatorial rule. Let us not discuss whether this piece of fiction is good or bad, but that it does truly reflect the anxieties in the minds of one part of the masses in China: can the "gang of four" regain power?

Nei Monggol's Surprising Taste for Overturning Court Cases

If they pay attention to Chinese Communist publications, people can discover that the author of this piece of political fantasy was not resorting to sensationalism; those anxieties of the masses are not groundless worries. Can you imagine that today, after 3 years of purge against the "gang of four," there are still lackeys of "the gang of four" who openly and vociferously are saying "after 15 years look again for the final outcome." But this is absolute reality; it is seen in the 4 September New China News Agency report about severely dealing with the practice of the overturning of verdicts by the "gang of four's" factional supporters. According to this report, these several persons who are stirring up the spirit to overturn verdicts are "old cadres" who have sold their souls, or are evil types who just want to smash things, or are militant trouble-makers with their hands covered with fresh blood, and it is only they who produced the three miscarriages of justice in Nei Monggol's February Countercurrent and the New Nei Monggol People's Party, in which as many as 100,000 people were implicated, bringing destruction and death to tens of thousands. These were unprecedented catastrophes for Nei Monggol. But even now part of these people have not offered an excuse or bowed their heads and confessed, and they still string together on all sides, embracing the stiff corpse of the "gang of four" politics, unwilling to let go, and openly advancing the movement to overturn their convictions; moreover, they openly proclaim "after 15 years, we will see the final outcome" nonsense.

The First Secretary of the Nei Monggol Party Central Committee Zhou Hui angrily said: "We waited for 3 whole years and they still have not confessed, truly what reason can they have?" The problem is why are these people so stupid and stubborn. New China News Agency analyzes: "first, towards this stubborn character, understanding has been insufficient and attacks on it half-hearted; second, the guideline of the Third National People's Congress has been pestered by both "left" and right trends of thought (the most important was the "left"), while within the party some cadres were fooled because they were ideologically confused." Of these two factors, the second is comparatively more important. In today's China, although the "gang of four" has been toppled from power, the harm of their thought is still far from eliminated; at the same time, one ought to see that the "gang of four" still has a social base that cannot be taken lightly. During the Eleventh Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, it was disclosed at the time of Ye Jianying's report on changing party regulations that there are now over 35,000,000 members in the Chinese Communist Party, nearly half of whom are estimated to have joined the party during the Cultural Revolution. From the very day they joined the party, these over 17 million party members fundamentally accepted the political ideals, moral viewpoint, and work style of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." There has been only 3 years of cleansing the "gang of four" so it is impossible for them to have completely thrown off the pressure of the "gang of four's" thought, not to mention that segment of these people who have united in the form of a secret

society, whether numerous or few. This is why as soon as the central authorities proposed the "four upholds" it was immediately taken up as a big stick to hit people, repressing democracy and the movement for the liberation of thought.

Therefore how not to lose the opportunity to choose good successors to inherit the monumental accomplishments of the old revolutionaries and to strike back against the provocations of the remnants of the "gang of four" leading the party and government officials at each level in continuously removing the shackles of the "gang of four," has an even greater practical meaning.

The Change of Personnel in Xizang and Qinghai

Recently the continuing election of People's Congresses in Xizang and Qinghai, in accordance with the newly-proclaimed organizational law for each local level's people's congress and each local level's people's government have elected provincial (regional) standing committees of the people's congresses and people's governments. The personnel arrangements in each province (region) are a formal demonstration of Deng Xiaoping's ideas on the selection of good successors. For example in Xizang, the aged Ngapo Ngawang Jigme was chosen to be the person-in-charge of the Autonomous Region's Standing Committee of the People's Congress in order to take up a supervisory function, while Ren Rong took sole charge of the responsibilities of First Secretary of the Autonomous Region's party, and the younger Tian Bao was made chairman of the region's people's government, taking charge of daily administrative affairs. The original chairman of Qinghai Province's revolutionary committee Tan Qilong also changed duties to become chairman of the provincial People's Congress's Standing Committee, while the unknown Zhang Guosheng was inaugurated as provincial governor.

Just over one month ago, while meeting with reporters accompanying the wife of President Marcos, who was visiting China, Deng Xiaoping revealed that he was already 76 years old and wished to retire as soon as possible, but whether or not that would be approved was another matter. After this news was put out, especially after others embellished this news and spread it around, it caused great alarm both within and without China. This kind of alarm and confusion was because Deng is the chief engineer of China's Four Modernizations and is the solid rock on which is built China's social peace and unity. But this writer, looking from another angle, considers that probably there is no need for alarm, because of the keenness of Deng Xiaoping's deep intelligence, experience, and political sense, he must have considered what would be the consequences of his statement. The fact that he did make that statement shows that he had already made careful plans and already had a clever scheme which has not yet been revealed. Experts on China think that Deng Xiaoping's revelation of his intention to retire says clearly that he had absolute confidence that for the rest of his life, he will be able to establish in China a flawless system of cadres and that this view is firmly held.

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PARTY AND STATE

STUDY OF YE JIANYING'S NATIONAL DAY ADDRESS URGED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 5 Nov 79 p 1

[Article by our own commentator: "Thoroughly Study Comrade Ye Jianying's National Day Address"]

[Text] The conference of local and municipal party secretaries recently convened by the provincial committee transmitted the spirit of the Fourth Plenary Session of the Party to seriously study the address by Comrade Ye Jianying at the meeting celebrating the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic of China. This conference has taken Comrade Ye Jianying's address as a weapon, and closely integrating it with actual practice in Guangdong, has analyzed the present situation of industrial and agricultural production in our province, has discussed how to make economic work a central overriding task, and also has made decisions about some pressing problems that must be solved in economic work. The conference has requested the party committees at all levels to positively study hard Comrade Ye Jianying's address.

Since Comrade Ye Jianying's address was issued, organizations at all levels in our province have paid serious attention to studying the address, have studied it hard, have adopted various methods, and have initiated study activities. In the process of integrating study with practice, we have initially solved some problems of ideological understanding, and have accelerated the effect on various types of work. However, this is only a good beginning. One must observe that the development of study is uneven, and the leaders of some units do not take study seriously enough, and have not set a good example. Thus, the emphasis must be on continued diligent study of the address, and further immersion in it.

If one is to immerse himself in this study, he must further deepen his understanding of the great significance of studying the address, and heighten consciousness for studying it. Studying the address is not ordinary political study, but is related to unifying the ideology of the entire party and all the masses, so that the accurate summary of 30 years of historical experience, especially the 10 years of the Cultural Revolution, can be used to direct the major events of our new Long March from

now on. From the study in this period we can see that in all those units which have studied well, the dialectical materialist line has been better established among cadres and the masses, and further they have corrected their attitudes toward revolutionary leaders and Mao Zedong Thought, have reached more of a consensus on the view of the 30 years of historical experience, and have more profoundly understood the serious perniciousness of Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and the ultra-leftist line. Thus we have liberated stimulated revolutionary spirit, and enhanced the morale for marching toward the Four Modernizations. This tells us that the study of the address really is a major event in the present unification of ideology, unification of action, and further has mobilized the cadres and masses to be of one heart and mind in engaging in the Four Modernizations. Thus, we should not think that studying it once or twice is "good enough."

From the experience of some units, we can see that if we thoroughly study it, we must grasp its important points, center on some major questions, seriously initiate discussion, unite and promote understanding. Which major question should we grasp? For example, how to recognize the historical inevitability and importance of the major points being applied to modernization, correctly estimate the present class conditions and the situation of class struggle in our country, and firmly carry out the application of the major points; how further to establish a historical materialist leadership outlook, accurately treat revolutionary leaders and their theories; how to view these years historically and dialectically fully affirm the accomplishments of these 30 years, and correctly deal with some mistakes and frustrations; how to correctly adhere to the Four Basic Principles, eliminate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who have tampered with and sabotaged the Four Basic Principles, better develop the superiority of the socialist system, perfect socialist democracy and legality; how to promote the solidity of achieving the Four Modernizations, with this concept of firmly establishing the Four Modernizations as the most important overriding political focus, so as to understand the purpose of social production, etc. In the process of studying, we must promote open thought, dare to raise questions, initiate debate, and also not unceasingly argue about some questions pertaining to the Cultural Revolution and these 30 years, so as to impede our present work. Comrade Ye Jianying's address conducted a thorough review and a basic summary of the 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic, and we must unify our thinking with the address.

If one thoroughly studies his address, one must integrate it with practice in his district, department, his own job and ideological practice, and must not talk in generalities or speak empty words, and must analyze and solve actual existing problems. One must combine this study with discussion of the question of criteria of truth as well as criticism of Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and the ultra-leftist line, further liberate thought, shake off spiritual shackles, and eliminate the pernicious influence of the ultra-leftist line.

What must be emphasized here is that leading cadres definitely must set a good example. When we mention unifying thought and unifying action, this means first unifying the thought and action of leading cadres. If our leading cadres do not seriously study, thought will not keep pace, and engaging in the Four Modernizations with one heart and one mind is merely empty talk. Presently the enthusiasm for study of vast members of cadres and the masses is quite high, and as long as they set good examples, and excel in organization and leadership, this study will certainly be deeply probed, and we will obtain good results.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS CALLED BASIS OF MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 79 p 4

[Article by Zhou Kang [6650 2123]: "Seeking Truth From Facts Is the Base of Mao Zedong Thought"]

[Text] "We cannot accept the argument that seeking truth from facts is the basis of Mao Zedong Thought. Why don't you bring up the subject of class struggle?" This question was put to me by a comrade during one of the report sessions. He was quite frank in raising the point, and I answered quite candidly. I said: Probably, fellow comrade, because you have been hoodwinked for more than 10 years by Lin Biao, Zhang Chunqiao and such people, you have mistakenly taken class struggle to be the base of Mao Zedong Thought, and have not even today realized it.

"Seeking truth from facts is the starting point and the base of Mao Zedong Thought." This statement was made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping during the Army-Wide Political Work Conference held on 6 June 1978. (See "HONGI," 1978, No 7, page 31.) At the same time, using a paper of more than three pages, he analyzed a whole series of Mao Zedong's writings as well as a great number of historical events which occurred since the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party, and with great power of persuasion clarified the abovementioned correct assertion. Yet we have comrades who call it "unacceptable"! Let us then first explore a little bit into the basis of Marxism. If we are able to clarify this issue, we will also be able to make clear the basis of Mao Zedong Thought.

Suppose we ask ourselves, what is the basis of the overall scientific system (including the three component parts) of Marxism? In my opinion, it is in the philosophical portion that the answer will be found. It is easy to comprehend that Marxist philosophy runs through the basic concepts and basic methods of every portion of the overall theoretical system. But what is Marxist philosophy? Lenin, in the article "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism," answered with one sentence: "The philosophy of Marxism is materialism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol. 2, p. 442). Of course, the materialism here refers to that materialism created by Marx during the 4th decade of the 19th century. It was a

selective continuation of the ideological heritage of successive generations of philosophical materialism; it was enriched by the results of the dialectical method of classical German philosophy and was verified by the most recent achievements of natural science of the period. It was also first applied by Marx to examine social life, and was repeatedly proven by the revolutionary experience of millions of people. It is a "perfected philosophical materialism" (Ibid. p. 443) held together by dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Lenin also drew from a line of Engels: "The natural world and mankind do not adapt themselves to principles, but principles can only be correct when they fit in with the natural world and historical situations." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol. 2, p. 35) Lenin also said: "The essence and living soul of Marxism is: concrete analysis of concrete situations." ("Complete Works of Lenin," vol. 31, p. 144) These are all very good explanations of the concept and application of materialism. Without a doubt, this materialistic spirit truly is the basis of the Marxist universal outlook, as well as the basis of its entire theoretical system. Of course, it is also the basis of Leninism.

But then how is it that the base of Mao Zedong Thought became "seeking truth from facts?" It became so because Comrade Mao Zedong inherited this materialism, applied it to the Chinese revolution, used the practical experience of the Chinese revolution to enrich it and, using Chinese terms to express it, called it "seeking truth from facts." In "Reforming Our Studies," Comrade Mao Zedong wrote: "'Facts' are all the things of objective existence. 'Truth' is the inner connection between objective things, that is, regularity. 'Seek' refers to our studies." He also wrote: "In order to seek truth from facts, one must not rely on subjective imagination, one must not rely on momentary emotions, one must not rely of lifeless books; but one should rely on facts of objective existence in gathering complete data and drawing correct conclusions from these materials in the light of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism." This is the spirit of "seeking truth from facts" (materialism) which can in no manner coexist with other forms of subjectivism (idealism). Comrade Mao Zedong has repeatedly pointed out: "Seeking truth from facts" is the basic concept and basic method of Marxism; it is the scientific position adopted by Marxism and is the foundation of the traditional style of our party. It is also the foundation of the party spirit of communist party members.

As early as the completion of the Long March victory, Comrade Mao Zedong reflectively summarized the winding course the party had taken since 1921 in leading the Chinese proletariat in class struggle. He particularly summarized in depth the difficult "zigzag" road the party trod following the failure of the great revolution of 1927. Comrade Mao Zedong produced a series of immortal works on the Chinese version of Marxism-Leninism. Each article of this series uses both positive and negative aspects of the true-to-life revolutionary experience to prove that "seeking truth from facts" is the ideological sources responsible for the setbacks and failures encountered during class struggles. We only need earnestly read the two philosophical theses "On Practice" and "On Contradictions" to free ourselves from any doubt that the spirit of seeking truth from facts is the basis of the overall scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought.

Does Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought then have yet another base called class struggle? I think that this is impossible. If you do not believe me, then please listen to what the classical authors had to say.

In his letter "To Wiedemein," Marx said, "As for my own part, whether it is the discovery of the existence of classes in modern society or the discovery of the struggle among these classes, I can take no credit for it. Long before my time, historians of the bourgeoisie had already expounded on the historical development of class struggle and economic scholars of the bourgeoisie had engaged in economic analysis of each class. My contribution rests mainly in the verification of the following points: (1) The existence of class is related only to a particular historical stage in the development of production. (2) Class struggle will definitely lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat. (3) The dictatorship of the proletariat is but a transitional period between the elimination of classes and the establishment of a proletarian society." ("Marx and Engels; Selected Works," Vol. 4, p. 332-333)

In his article "The State and Revolution," after citing these brilliant remarks of Marx, Lenin elaborated: "One often hears and reads that the base of Marxism is class struggle. But this is not correct. Based on this incorrect viewpoint, people often advance opportunistic distortions and make Marxism into the theory of class struggle did not originate with Marx but was formulated by the bourgeoisie before the time of Marx, and was, generally speaking, acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Anyone who merely recognizes the existence of class struggle is not automatically a Marxist. Such a person may not yet have left the encirclement of bourgeois ideology and politics. To limit Marxism to the theory of class struggle is to split apart and twist Marxism and to turn it into something acceptable to the bourgeoisie." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol. 3, p. 199) Lenin's analysis is quite clear. To say that class struggle is the essential point of Marxism is erroneous. We can see that to say class struggle is the base of Marxism is even more erroneous.

However, Lenin also said: "Only those who recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat along with class struggle can be considered Marxists." (Ibid.) Based on this sentence, should we or not understand the notion that class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat as the base of Marxism? In my opinion, it should not be so understood. If we read Lenin's sentence in context, we will understand his meaning to be: "Recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat along with class struggle." This is the most important mark which differentiates the Marxists resolutely going down the road of scientific socialism from the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the social reformists and the right leaning opportunists, and in no way explains class struggle as the base of Marxism. The existence of class and class struggle is but a minor current in the long river of the history of human development. Should the argument that class struggle is the base of Marxism prevail, once classes are wiped out and the state apparatus (including the dictatorship

of the proletariat, of course) disappears, how would there be any more use for Marxism? And how could Marxism still be considered the disciplined, thorough, and scientific world view of the proletariat? As we have said above, the base of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is seeking truth from facts (materialism). There is no other concrete important viewpoint in this system capable of replacing this base. Of course, the class struggle viewpoint that takes the three new contributions of Marx as its basic content also is incapable of replacing it. Just think a moment. Was not the theory of "class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat" etc. a scientific conclusion reached by Marx through application of the basic viewpoint of materialism to factual studies of social history and the objective laws of the capitalist economic movement? If the Marxist theory that class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat is to be compared to a flower, then this flower undoubtedly grows out from the root of "seeking truth from facts" (materialism). Yet some of our comrades to this day still cannot comprehend such simple reasoning. They stubbornly look at class struggle as the base of Mao Zedong Thought. I think they might very well have been poisoned by the revisionism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and have taken the "intoxicating potion" of idealism from these conspirators.

Some comrades asked me in surprise, "Were Lin Biao and Zhang Chunqiao also revisionists?" My answer was: Most definitely. These people, by the way they "revised" Marxism-Leninism, have proved this point. Originally, revisionism appeared in two forms: One form comes from the right, as the right opportunism mentioned earlier. One of its notable characteristics is the restriction or the elimination of class struggle. The other form of revisionism comes from the left, and one of its evident characteristics is the exaggeration of class struggle. In the past, some of our comrades only half understood the nature of revisionism. They stopped being watchful and alert and thus fell captive to the cunning and deceitful enemies who, branding themselves as "anti-revisionists," were actually furthering the cause of revisionism. In fact, as early as 1908, Lenin clearly and correctly pointed this out in his article "Marxism and Revisionism." After he was through analyzing revisionism from the right, he continued: "Revisionism from the left presented as 'revolutionary syndicalism' in all the Romance language countries today also relies on Marxism while at the same time being 'revised.' Labriola from Italy and Lagardere from France repeatedly voiced their objection to the Marx that people misunderstood and sought help from the Marx that they had come to correctly understand." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol. 2, p. 8) At the time, Lenin felt that this newly emerging form of revisionism was far less mature than the revisionism from the right coming from such hoodlums as Bo-en-si-dan. Its international influence was yet too insignificant to be worth mentioning. He, therefore, did not analyze or criticize it further in his article. However, after half a century, this revisionism from the left reached maturity on our soil, and has recklessly caused so much disorder. This is the revisionism represented by Lin Biao, Zhang Chunqiao and their kind. Were they not for more than 10 years just as Lenin had said, relying on Mao Zedong Thought while at the same time

"revising" it? For now, I shall lay aside other issues and mention here only the fact that they "revised" the base of Mao Zedong Thought (and also of Marxism-Leninism). They used to the utmost all the skills of the crafty arguments of metaphysics to alter and throw away the principle of "seeking truth from facts" (materialism) while at the same time releasing all over the country a blast of calamitous water of idealism, to which I have given the name "intoxicating potion." Is it not what they were like?

On May 18, 1966, Lin Biao presented himself "holding the red flag the highest, the highest, the highest." He babbled things like: "No matter how complicated the matter is, never forget political power. To forget political power is to forget the base of Marxism." Using just a few words, he substituted class struggle (its highest form became the struggle to grasp political power) for "seeking truth from facts." Just like that, Lin Biao "revised away" the base of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The fanciful plan of Lin Biao, Zhang Chunqiao and their kind to thoroughly "revise" the base of Mao Zedong Thought was realized through metaphysical and crafty arguments concerning three major inversions. First, they inverted the normal relationship between class struggle and production activity. "A Marxist recognizes that the production activity of man is the most fundamental practical activity; it determines all other forms of activity." ("On Practice") Yet, for more than 10 years, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" used both large and small newspapers and magazines to criticize, with daily increasing severity, the article "On the Sole Force of Production" (that is, they criticize the Marxist viewpoint of production). At the same time, they exaggerated class struggle in an extremely one-sided manner. They ridiculously divided classes based on the thinking and political viewpoint of the people. They did their utmost to incite people to struggle against the "bourgeoisie" they had forced into existence.

Zhang Chunqiao barked wildly: "If class struggle is well carried out, it does not matter that no grain is harvested in the villages." Ma Tianshui followed closely his crazy bark: "As long as class struggle is well carried out, factories with reduced production are also to be lauded!" Secondly, they turned upside down the relationship between revolutionary leaders and the masses. Comrade Mao Zedong long ago correctly explained: "The people, and only the people, are the driving force in the creation of world history." ("On Unified Government") But Lin Biao and the "gang of four" tried their hardest to exaggerate the leader to an unlimited degree, saying of him "a genius who appears only once every few thousand years." They looked on him as the founding emperor of the feudalistic era, holding him up as an all-wise, almighty "Savior." The true image of the people was thus lost from their range of view. Thirdly, they turned upside down the relationship between theory and practice as well as the relationship between subjectivism and objectivism. People cannot forget the classical argument of Comrade Mao Zedong: "To judge whether a perception or a theory is true, one cannot base his judgment on subjective feelings but must base his judgment on the findings of objective social practice."

Only social practice can be the standard of truth." ("On Practice") But Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did their utmost to exaggerate the "instructions" of the leader. They inflated them to the extent that "every sentence is truth."

Therefore, no matter whether it was a word or a side comment from the leader, they would interpret it as a "panacea" with "immediate effectiveness" everywhere. They even interpreted it as the "behavioral standard" to be followed at all times by the people, and so all forms of activities of social practice were nothing but activities "carried out according to instructions (of the leader)." No one was allowed to comment on the instructions in the light of the findings of social practice because, according to Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the instructions themselves were the standard. For more than 10 years, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" spared no effort to promote the three major inversions mentioned above. They used the carrot and the stick, performing favors as well as making threats in order to achieve their goal. Over a long period of time, many people became used to their vicious schemes. All they originally had in their heads--the correct viewpoint on the relationship between subjectivism and objectivism, between spirit and material things, between social consciousness and the existence of society, between the superstructure and the economic base, etc.--was gradually turned upside down! In addition, there were these ridiculous ideas cooked up by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on "The Making of a Genius," "Ideology First," "The Almighty Spirit," "Subjective Truth," "On Determining the Superstructure," etc. which were broadcast day and night over propaganda media under their control. They swindled blatantly everywhere. So, whatever little or much was left in the minds of people of the simple faith in "seeking truth from facts" was swept and scrubbed away by this blast of calamitous water of idealism! This is the general picture of the destructive activities against the philosophical portion of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought carried out by Lin Biao, Zhang Chunqiao and their ilk. To simply state the essential point, this notorious group centralized all their strength to "revise away" "seeking truth from facts" from every side and to replace it with idealism. Judging from the circumstances, I think what this black gang engaged in was certainly not general "literalism" or dogmatism but revisionism from the left. This revisionism was so bewitching because it "revised" Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought from the left. Carrying out the three major inversions from the left, these revisionists were able to immediately put all kinds of pretty coats over their subversive schemes, such as "most revolutionary," "most determined," "bravest," "most anti-revisionistic," "most anti-imperialistic," "most anti-capitalistic," "most loyal to the leader," "following closest to the leader," "most obedient to the leader," etc. It would be bewitching enough to put on just one or two of these pretty coats, not to mention the way Lin Biao did it, putting on 36 of them after coming on stage. How utterly deceitful he was to those who had only simple feelings toward class, who lacked knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theories and who, to a greater or lesser degree, harbored strong enthusiasm toward the petty bourgeoisie. Therefore, if we want

today to restore the ideological line of materialism and the traditional workstyle of seeking truth from facts, we must thoroughly expose the conspiracy of the revisionists from the left, and the conspiracy to rebel against the intrinsic qualities of the revolution, as well as the techniques of crafty, metaphysical arguments arising from the left. Otherwise, if we regard this revisionism as general "literalism" or the bad habit of bookworms, it would be like "scratching an itching spot with a boot on," and would not solve the problem. If we are to firmly support Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we must first firmly support "seeking truth from facts"; and, if we are to firmly support "seeking truth from facts," we must first devote our efforts to expose and criticize revisionism from the left and diligently eradicate its pernicious influence. Such is my conclusion.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PENG DEHUI'S ACTIONS BEFORE, AFTER LUSHAN CONFERENCE DESCRIBED

Hong Kong DONGXIANG [THE TREND] No 12 in Chinese 16 Sep 79 pp 22-24

[Article by Lin Nan [2651 2809]: "Peng Dehuai Before and After the Lushan Conference"]

[Text] The Fisherman

On 9 October 1961, Peng Dehuai and his nephew Peng Peng were returning from a manganese mine to Xiangtan County.

The late fall twilight was chilly and still. They threaded their way along an out of the way little lane to beneath the iron bridge over the Xiang River. The river was bright and listless in the autumn breeze; the fishing boats coming home for the night sailed by slowly. One old fisherman was drawing in his net on the river bank. Peng Dehuai, seeing him, casually approached him.

"Buddy, how are you!" Peng Dehuai called out using Xiangtan's Hunnanese dialect.

The fisherman recovered his net and bowed his head slightly towards this man wearing patched blue cloth and answered:

"How are you, buddy."

Standing by the river, the two extracted each other's family histories. Peng Dehuai asked the fisherman about his family background, knowing that he was "from generations of poor peasants." He also asked about his past and present living conditions. The fisherman humorously replied, "This buddy wouldn't deceive you, from the Liberation to 1957, the peasants' life was like sesame blossoming--getting better and better. From 1958 until now, it was like the reverse of eating sugar cane which is sweet in every section."

"Oh buddy, you are a griper!"

"Complain? This most certainly is as real as iron nails."

"If you have this point of view, you can report to those at the top, mightn't you!"

"My report would be as useful as a fart!" Marshal Peng reported, speaking out the truth and lost his Defense Minister position.

"What does that have to do with it?"

"Have to do with it?" The fisherman stared angrily, "with me nothing, I am just feeling sorry for him. I'm angry!"

"Buddy, don't be angry. Communists agitate for revolution. In order to maintain the truth, we should abandon all petty personal thoughts, even to the point of not being afraid of decapitation, not being afraid of jail, not being afraid of being fired, not being afraid of being expelled from the party, and not being afraid of your old lady divorcing you...."

The fisherman countered, "Wow, one, two, three, four, five, five don't be afraid!"

"Right!"

"If you're not afraid, I'm afraid. As for being beheaded, who is going to take care of my old lady, sons and daughters. Who is going to care? This Marshal Peng wasn't tactful, his concerns were so many and so broad."

"We should fight for the truth! If we don't struggle, drifting with the currents and waves, and pretend to obey allowing errors to develop, this will damage the party and state, first damaging the people and second damaging the revolution."

"Ha, although you're not Marshal Peng, when you talk you resemble him."

Peng Dehuai laughed.

A victim of an unjust charge and exiled, Chu Yuan once ran into a fisherman on the edge of the azure waters of the Yangtze, while in the Twentieth Century "Lairui" also met a fisherman on the banks of the Xiang River. They both were great men as described by these verses: "the whole world is corrupt, but I am clean; everyone around me is drunk, but I am sober:" and who would not allow "their cleanliness to be dirtied by things," nor "their snow whiteness to be tarnished by the dirt of the world."

I Still Have Something to Say

Peng Dehuai conducted an investigation in his hometown for over a month, writing a thick volume of study notes. But how should he handle these notes? Did he need to report these actual conditions to the party central committee? He knew that he was a criminal bringing his crimes home; his collection and reporting of the actual conditions would increase his guilt, but the common people were suffering.... With his hand shaking slightly, he opened his notebook and read it page by page. Once, he gave the notebook to Peng Peng to get his opinion. After reading it, Peng Peng thought someone has been watching uncle's every word and act on this trip home and has been sending in reports daily. Under these conditions what use would there be in writing a report? But since it would only make matters worse to say so, Peng Peng pretended to be indifferent and said: "Uncle, these are the conditions everywhere, don't make a report!"

"These conditions are general conditions. If I eat the people's food then I should work for the people and speak for the people. It is also good to echo these conditions up to the top, letting the party central committee and Chairman Mao examine them."

"Uncle...."

"Have you read Fan Zhongyan's 'Record of the Yueyang Tower?' I like that piece very much. In it it says: 'Don't be happy about things and don't be sad about oneself. If you hold a high position at court then you are concerned for the people; if you dwell among the far-off rivers and lakes, then you are concerned for the ruler. In this way, one is concerned no matter where he is. If things are this way, when can one be happy? One must say: One should worry before everybody else and should be happy after everybody else. Alas, if I slight such a man, with whom would I associate.' Shouldn't a communist do better than the benevolent men and determined knights of ancient times!"

"I am worried that...."

"An honest man does not engage in secret dealing, if I have something to say, I am going to say it!"

Peng Dehuai was determined once again to seek help for the people. He finished his report and finally added eight characters at the top: "If there are errors, they are my responsibility."

The Second Written Opinion

Peng Dehuai wrote a series of investigative reports in which he said: "the people's communes were implemented too soon," "the Great Leap Forward's gains do not make up for the damage it caused," "steel-making operations exhausted

all there was in the mountains," "now all the trees in the farm villages have been cut down and if we want to restore them it will take 10 years," "the losses were so great, in 1958, 1959, 1960, even if the population of the whole country did not eat rice for a year, it would still not make up for the losses," "commune members are eating rice husk cakes," "the standard of living is too low," "there were people begging for food only in these 2 years," "I think that the general line ought to be reformed," "in these several years the party's reputation was not high and in the villages no one wanted to join the party," and "no one cried long live Chairman Mao and the Communist Party anymore."

Two years ago, under a sudden attack at Lushan, Peng Dehuai unwillingly confessed his "guilt." After 2 years of sober and clear pondering, he finally wanted "to overturn his conviction." In so doing at this time, he did not just want to clear his own name but rather aimed for a more general justice. The disposition of the Peng Dehuai affair at Lushan established within the Communist Party a precedent for "striking out in revenge and recklessly making charges." He had wanted to give out a war cry to stop that type of abnormal phenomenon.

Peng Dehuai wrote in his report "my only error is wanting food for the masses," "to serve the party," and "to speak all I know and do so exhaustively."

At the Tenth Plenum of the Eighth CCP Central Committee, he submitted a second written opinion, completely overthrowing his unwilling confession made at the Lushan Conference. He said that in the Lushan Conference he did not stir up "anti-party factional activity" and that to charge him with "making secret plans to oppose the party" was an unfounded charge.

Disagreement Between Peng and Mao

Peng Dehuai's effort to "overturn the verdict" risked the danger of "adding one crime to another." But it was very strange, he not only was not "charged with even greater crimes," rather he recieved a partial "pardon." Yet several months after submitting his second written opinion that withdrew his confession, Mao Zedong sent him to Sichuan to be deputy commander-in-chief on the Third Front. Just before departing, Mao Zedong invited him to his house for a meal and lauded Peng for his good work and urged him not to harbor any misgivings.

That night, Peng Dehuai almost did not sleep the whole night. Some said that this was because he was so happy and grateful that, in the end, Mao Zedong forgave him. Some said it was because many years of unpredictable political changes had caused his train of thought to be disorderly and his emotions to be mixed.

Between Peng Dehuai and Mao Zedong there had been numerous differences for many years. According to Peng Dehuai's ex-wife Pu Anxiu, "From 1953 on, I often heard him (Peng Dehuai) grumble: 'Now that I am old, the Chairman

doesn't like me and doesn't respect me anymore. I defeated Chiang Kai-shek, defeated imperialism, my whole life's goals have been accomplished, so I can go home and farm. If he doesn't like me, he doesn't like me." She also said: "Sometimes when they took photographs of the central leaders, if Chairman Mao was to be there, Peng Dehuai would not want to go.... A place in the Beijing suburbs had been prepared as a resort for the central leaders and was offered to Chairman Mao for a rest. On Sunday, I said we should go out to rest, but Peng Dehuai was unwilling to go saying, 'That place is the Chairman's. If you want to go, then go, but I won't go. That house was too extravagantly refurbished.'... In 1958, Peng Dehuai told me, 'If Chairman Mao pokes me, then I poke him; if he can poke me why shouldn't I poke him.'... In 1959 following the Lushan Conference, he said 'If I want to oppose Chairman Mao, I could have done it in the past, why wait until after the liberation?'"

As for going to Sichuan to be the deputy commander-in-chief on the Third Front, Peng Dehuai in a way did not want to go, rather he wanted to go home to farm and did not plan to be an official again, following the ups and downs and fence mending of political life. But he still went.

Interrogation and Confession

Peng Dehuai lived in Sichuan for 4 years, until the Cultural Revolution broke out. This Cultural Revolution to "sweep away all ghosts and monsters" naturally could not let Peng Dehuai slip by. The Lushan conflict was a distant cause of the Cultural Revolution; "Hai Rui Dismissed from Office" was the first battle front of the Cultural Revolution. Peng Dehuai bore the brunt of this "Hai Rui" flood. One group of red guards from Beijing poured into Sichuan to snatch him back to be struggled against.

Peng Dehuai had begun in the ranks and in his whole life had never grown much hair. When being struggled against, another person could grab you by the hair, but he being without hair could not be grabbed and the red guards then grabbed his ears. He was grabbed by the ears many times while being struggled against in Beijing.

At the time of the Lushan Conference, Peng Dehuai had admitted his "guilt." But in the face of the red guards' cruelty and excesses, he contrarily would not bow his head. Having undergone these several years of deep thought and self-examination, he already understood and realized that he was not again to be a stupid and blindly following slave. He revealed his courageous basic character.

When the red guards interrogated him, he wrote a "letter of confession." He wrote, "When the Eighth Party Congress was held in 1958, I advanced the idea to leave out Mao Zedong Thought (in the Party Constitution), and what I suggested was immediately agreed on by Liu Shaoqi, who said 'This idea is good!' I'm one who opposed the cult of personality." "It cannot be said

that I am an executioner who has massacred the masses, but I am half-and-half, having made errors and also made contributions." "I consider that the Chairman's talks go too far. I have reservations. The Chairman has said that my letters are 'to raise an army for insurrection,' 'have rebellious intent,' and 'are hypocritical,' but I cannot agree. I am in agreement with removing me from office, but I have a reservation, without office a person can live without burden. I am unsuccessful and someone is better than I am, so I should make room for him."

Peng Dehuai's Letter to Yao Wenyuan

When the red terror was at its most severe, Peng Dehuai still wrote a letter to Yao Wenyuan.

In January 1967, Yao Wenyuan published an article "On Two-faced Counter-revolutionary Zhou Yang" in which he said of Peng Dehuai, "he himself led Hai Rui's right opportunist anti-party organization and at the Lushan Conference he proposed a thorough outline of revisionism, vainly hoping to overthrow Comrade Mao Zedong as the central leader at the party's head and push our country back down the dark road of capitalism."

At that time, Yao Wenyuan was a very influential and powerful personage, and who would dare to have the boldness to offend him? More especially, when a person is in the midst of being criticized and struggled against, he must be even more submissive, fearing that he will implicate himself further. Peng Dehuai again manifested his heroic character, upholding historical fact and righteously stood up to be counted. He wrote a letter in which he said: "If you can profit from this kind of propaganda, then propagandize in this manner! If you need to seek truth from facts, I may be of some help."

In the period of the Cultural Revolution, Peng Dehuai every day insisted on doing Taiji quan, disciplining his body. He did not humble himself, he firmly struggled with those clowns to the end. Qi Benyu heard it said that Peng was doing Taiji quan every day and ranted: "Peng Dehuai still thinks he is going to live to a ripe old age and thinks he is going to see our destruction!"

The Prisoner Who Crawled in the Jail

Unfortunately Peng Dehuai did not see the fall of the "gang of four" before he departed the living.

In a special prison in Beijing, an aged prisoner crawled on the ground. He being sick and weak was unable to walk and was only able to crawl around on the damp and gloomy floor. From head to foot his clothes were ripped in strips and pieces which were unable to cover his unbearably filthy body. Again and again he crawled to the door of his cell and in a feeble and trembling voice begged the guard, "Send a letter to my family and let them send me some

clothes and daily necessities...." The guard laughed maliciously, again and again walking passed the cell, each time going away without giving the slightest heed to him....

This old prisoner crawling on the floor was Peng Dehuai. Right at the time when out in society it was passing from person to person that Peng Dehuai was still doing Taiji quan each day, Peng Dehuai rather was crawling around in jail. He was imprisoned for 8 years crawling on the floor...who would ever have thought that a hero would come to such an end in his old age?

On 29 January 1974 Peng Dehuai was finally "released." This resembled a picture by the French artist Daumier: A jailer is taking the pulse of a dead prisoner and says to the executioner and the judge: "Now this man can be released, he is no longer dangerous." Peng Dehuai was in the same way permanently taken from the jail. Also away from the living....

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PARTY AND STATE

EXPLOITING CLASS ABOLISHED IN INNER MONGOLIA

Hohhot NEI MONGGOL RIBAO in Chinese 4 Oct 79 p 1

[Article by Zheng Xing [2973 5281]: "The Elimination of Classes Is the Historical Mission of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat"]

[Text] The elimination of classes is a fundamental task of the socialist revolution and an important historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As Marx pointed out, "This dictatorship is only a transition in order to achieve the elimination of all classes and enter a classless society." The task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is first of all to eliminate the exploiting classes; only then can society "achieve the elimination of all classes" and enter a classless society.

Unlike the creation of classes, the elimination of classes can be achieved only gradually and only through class struggle and a tremendous development of social productive forces. Lenin pointed out very clearly, "Socialism means the elimination of classes. In this regard, the dictatorship of the proletariat has accomplished all that it is capable of accomplishing, but the elimination of classes is not something that can be achieved all at once." The socialist revolution is a deepgoing class struggle. This struggle represents a period during which great social changes take place; it is also a period during which deepgoing transformations in class relations take place. An accurate analysis of the transformation in class relations during the period of the socialist revolution serves as the foundation for the party in formulating its general line, its general and specific policies and in establishing the focus of its work.

In our country, the process represented by the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution is also a process of great social changes and a process of great transformations in class relations. With regard to the feudal, exploitive systems of the landlords and rich peasants, the party Central Committee, after the capitulation of Japanese imperialism, began to eliminate the feudal system of exploitation by responding to the urgent demand of the peasants for land and, instead of a policy of reducing rents and interest, implemented a policy of confiscating land from the landlords

and distributing this land to the peasants in the liberated areas. By taking steps to reduce rent and oppose local despotism once the entire country was liberated, land reform was implemented in the newly liberated areas, except for a few areas populated by national minorities in the period of economic rehabilitation before 1952, and the feudal exploitive system was abolished nationwide. Our party's policy is to abolish the system of exploitation and the exploiting classes (as long as the system of exploitation is abolished, the exploiting classes will not have a *raison d'être*), but with regard to members of the exploiting classes, we adopted a policy of reforming them, and not a policy of eliminating them as individuals. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, "Our task is to eliminate the feudal system and to eliminate the landlords as a class, but not to eliminate the landlords as individuals. We must give the landlords, in accordance with the Land Reform Law, a means of production and livelihood no higher than that accorded to the peasants." In accordance with this proletarian policy adopted by the party, during the period of land reform the party not only gave the members of the landlord and rich peasant classes an equal share of the land, thus allowing them to reform themselves through labor into new people and to remold themselves as laborers relying on their own toil, but also concretely formulated policies aimed at reforming members of the landlord and rich peasant classes. With regard to this, there are clear and concrete stipulations in Comrade Mao Zedong's essay "On Some Important Problems of the Party's Present Policy," in the "Decision on Determining Class Status in the Rural Areas" promulgated by the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government in 1950, and in the national program for agricultural development adopted by the Second NPC in 1960 as well as in the subsequent socialist education campaign in the countryside. After its 3d plenary session, the party Central Committee decided: "Except in the case of an extremely small minority who maintain a reactionary standpoint and who are not yet reformed for the better, labels may be removed from all former landlords and rich peasants as well as from counterrevolutionaries and bad elements who have for many years obeyed the laws and ordinances of the government, who have engaged honestly in labor and who have not done bad things, after an examination by the masses and after permission has been granted by the county revolutionary committee. They must then be treated as members of the people's commune." This has been a longstanding policy of the party. It has been 33 years since land reform was completed in the old liberated areas; it has also been 28 years since land reform was accomplished in those areas where it took place during the period of economic rehabilitation after the liberation of the entire country. Not only has the system of private ownership of the means of production long been abolished, but facts also prove that the overwhelming majority of those who used to own the means of production privately have now already been and become workers who rely on their own labor. Through more than a half year of practical implementation and examination, the policy of removing labels from reformed members of the landlord and rich peasant classes has proven to be a policy which is in total conformity with the needs of the specific conditions of all local areas. This policy, adopted by the party, is a resolution which

bears great strategic significance and has been arrived at under the new conditions in which the focus of the work of the entire party is undergoing a shift. It is bound to generate profound and lasting effects.

Following the accomplishments mentioned above, Comrade Hua Guofeng announced in the "Government Work Report" that the elimination of the landlord classes and the rich peasant class as classes is a development which is in total conformity with the demands of actual circumstances, that it is a natural process, and therefore it has received the enthusiastic support of the people in all strata of society.

Regions in which animal husbandry is conducted have many characteristics that distinguish them from agricultural areas. In the animal husbandry areas in Mongolia prior to liberation, there not only were remnants of the feudal system of special hereditary privileges enjoyed by princes and the aristocracy and remnants of a slave system (and in areas populated by other minority nationalities, remnants of a system of primitive communism were retained in even other aspects as well), but there also were ethnic characteristics, economic peculiarities, and a profound religious influence. After the People's Government of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was established in 1947, it first of all adopted a policy of abolishing the system of feudal privileges, in response to the concrete conditions prevailing in animal husbandry areas, and announced the implementation, from the top down, of a policy of "public ownership of livestock farms and freedom of herding." It also emancipated the slaves, abolished the slave system, established a people's government through general elections, and abolished the political system of the hereditary transfer of political power by the princes and the aristocracy, thereby depriving the herdowners of their feudal privilege to oppress and exploit the people of the various nationalities. At the same time, it also carried out democratic reforms in the economic sphere and, in response to the characteristics of the animal husbandry areas, implemented the "new herd" system and the policy of mutual benefit between "herdowners and herders," and adopted a strategy of "non-struggle, nondivision, and no drawing of class distinctions" aimed at facilitating the establishment of social stability and national unity and the promotion of production. (This means that there is to be no drawing of class distinctions among the laboring herders, and as for the herdowners, their relative position is already established in the implementation of the policy of mutual benefit between herdowners and herders, in accordance with the size of the means of production which they own and the size of the income which they derive from its utilization.) During the period of socialist transformation, proceeding from the interests of the special economic characteristics of animal husbandry and grazing, and from the standpoint of facilitating the development of production, a policy of "being stable and firm in policy, being lenient in method, and being patient in terms of time" was adopted, and, with regard to the means of production possessed by the herdowners and the monasteries and temples, a policy of redemption and multiple methods of reform was adopted. Engels once said: "We do not believe that redemption is impermissible under all circumstances.

Marx once expressed his opinion to me (an opinion which he expressed many times in the past): If we can rid ourselves of this bandit gang by redeeming them, we will have gotten off very lightly indeed." In its reform of the herdowner economy, our country has brought this tentative idea of Marx's and Engels' to realization, and furthermore it has proven that they were entirely correct. Through methods of peaceful reform and redemption, we have not only transformed the herdowner economy and abolished the exploitive system and the herdowners as a class in the animal husbandry regions, but also achieved our aim of developing production and improving the livelihood of the people of the various nationalities. Some people once maligned this policy as "a theory of giving credit to the herdowners for exploiting"; this is a barefaced lie! Let us ask: Is there anybody who can still find the herdowner class in the grazing regions today?! Practice is the only criterion for testing truth. The objective fact that the herdowner class has been abolished is irrefutable. Comrade Hua Guofeng's thesis that in our country the landlord class and the rich peasant class have been abolished as classes is also entirely applicable to the herdowner class in the grazing areas.

With regard to the bourgeoisie, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out clearly the characteristics of the bourgeoisie in China when he said: "Within the bourgeoisie there is a distinction between the big bourgeoisie, which has a comprador character, and the national bourgeoisie." Therefore our party has adopted a policy which treats them differently. With regard to the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, a policy of expropriation was adopted. "By confiscating this capital and turning it over to the ownership of the people's republic, under the leadership of the proletariat, we have put the lifeblood of the nation's economy in the hands of the people's republic and have made the state-run sector of the economy the leading factor in the national economy." The confiscation of bureaucratic capital, in view of the proportion it occupies in the entire capitalist economy, has virtually solved 80 percent of the capitalist economy problem. What remains, then, is the problem of transforming national capitalism. In view of the united front which our party has formed gradually with the national bourgeoisie in the democratic revolution, and in view of the fact that a scientific analysis of its dual character under the new historical conditions has been made, the party's attitude toward it, in terms of politics during the period of socialist transformation, is to regard it as an internal contradiction among the people. In terms of the economy, the party adopted a policy of utilizing, restraining, and reforming the national bourgeoisie. This means utilizing it in those areas where it is helpful to the nation's economy and to the people's livelihood, restraining it where it is harmful to the national economy and to the people's livelihood, and, through peaceful reform and the policy of redemption, adapting the format of national capitalism and ultimately reforming it into a socialist economy. This took place until 1956, when the changing over of all trades to joint state-private enterprise was implemented and the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce was accomplished with triumphant success. To

To transform a capitalist economy into a socialist economy through the adoption of a policy of redemption was a vision which Marx and Lenin had long ago, and this vision was realized for the first time in the reforming of the national bourgeoisie in China. Following the change from the situation in which the means of production were in the hands of the capitalists and are now turned over to joint state-private enterprise, and following the fundamental elimination of the system of exploitation (although at the time we still paid fixed interest to the capitalists, they no longer had anything to do with the development of enterprise itself), the capitalist class, as exploiters, was also fundamentally eliminated. However, at that time the capitalists still received fixed interest, which meant that the income they derived from exploitation had not yet been thoroughly eliminated, and that steps would still be required in order to thoroughly change their consciousness as an exploiting class, which they had formed through practice in their lives over a long period of time, and to transform them into workers who rely on their own labor. In response to the question of such a fundamental transformation, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out appropriately in 1957: "The members of the bourgeoisie have become managerial personnel in the joint state-private enterprises and are in the midst of changing from exploiters into workers who rely on their own labor." It has been more than 20 years since the socialist transformation of the means of production was fundamentally accomplished, and 13 years since the policy of fixed interest was abolished in 1966. The overwhelming majority of the national bourgeoisie who have the capacity to perform labor have already been transformed into workers who rely on their own labor. Comrade Hua Guofeng's thesis that the capitalist class no longer exists in our country are entirely in accord with the objective facts and with the policy of reform adopted by the party.

The process from the transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production to the remolding of the overwhelming majority of the members of the exploiting classes into workers who rely on their own labor is the process of eliminating classes. This process has now been completed. If we on the one hand claim that our country is a great socialist country and on the other hand continue for a long time to acknowledge that exploitive classes still exist in our country, this would not only contradict objective reality but would also be a refutation of the socialist system of ownership in our country itself. The elimination of exploiting classes is a great triumph in our party's policy of transformation and is a partial fulfillment of the historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Naturally, the dictatorship of the proletariat has not yet accomplished its mission entirely; its task remains a protracted and difficult one.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

CARE OF WEAPONS, STRENGTHENING OF MILITIA WORK DISCUSSED

Proper Care of Weapons

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Sep 79 p 4

[Article by Hai Hong [3189 3163]: "Take Care of Militia Weapons"]

[Text] Some militia cadres do not consider the supervision of militia weapons and equipment important. Some use them a great deal, but pay little attention to taking care of them; some consider taking care of weapons an "added burden," and do not do things according to regulations, even to the point that some weapons are rusty, damaged or lost. This will certainly have an effect on fighting, and seriously endangers the revolution.

Most recently Comrade Hua Guofeng said: "The two superpowers are intensifying their competition to seize world hegemony, and the dangerous factors of war are still increasing. In this period social imperialism is posing an even greater threat." For this reason, we must make thorough and complete preparations to protect against a sudden attack by the enemy. The militia is a constituent part of our "three-in-one" armed forces, and is an important power in the conduct of people's war under present conditions. Military equipment is important for destroying the enemy, being victorious over the enemy and for preserving ourselves. For this reason, doing a good job of taking care of the militia's military equipment will ensure that the military equipment is always in excellent combat readiness, which is an important measure of strengthening battle readiness.

Like some advanced units, we certainly should pay close attention to education of the militia war readiness position, war readiness circumstances and general knowledge of weapons so that the broad militia men will self-consciously protect the weapons in their hands. We should begin broadly "Four Know How To" activity among the militia: know how to use, know how to care for, know how to inspect and know how to clear; and begin "Four Don'ts" activity: don't lose, don't damage, don't let rust, and don't let mildew or rot, so that protecting weapons will be praised and damaging or losing weapons will be arrested.

We certainly should carry out conscientiously the spirit of the relevant documents issued by the State Council and the Military Commission of the Central Committee, establish a strict regulatory system, reform work style, overcome fear of difficulty and improve taking care of militia weapons.

Exemplary Weapon Protection Efforts

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Sep 79 p 4

[Article by Xiao Fang (5135 7089): "Protect Weapons Like You Protect Your Eyes"]

[Text] In 1971 the Shanghai Fireproof Materials Plant was equipped with guns, and the organization decided that Zhou Caiming [0719 2088 2494] would be made leader of the Artillery Work Team. For many years he made his home among anti-craft guns, and for years fought at this post, leading the comrades on his team to study technique, gain proficiency, and carefully protect the guns so that the anti-aircraft guns were always in good condition. During the many times the anti-aircraft guns were fired, they have never jammed, and on inspections, the upper echelons have repeatedly commended him.

Zhou Caiming and all the comrades on his team developed and instituted a weapons care system where they gave a minor cleaning every week, a major cleaning every month, cleaned promptly after training, and cleaned frequently during the spring rainy season and after returning from target practice. This system was scrupulously followed, whether in the dead of winter or in the heat of summer. One time in mid-winter, the anti-aircraft position on the banks of the Huangpu Jiang [7806 3184 3068] was chilled to the bone. To speed up cleaning of the guns, he took off his coat, dug out under the paopan [3517 4149] and lay down on the frozen mud to wipe the mud and grease from the bottom of the paopan. At that time, everyone conscientiously wiped the outside of the anti-aircraft gun clean and also individually removed the bolt and yatanji [1090 1734 2894], cleaned them with gasoline and covered them with fresh grease. The temperature at the time was 2°-3° below zero, and everyone insisted on getting both hands into the freezing gasoline to wash the parts; dozens of fingers were red with cold. After several days running of immersion, the skin on their hands began to crack open, and hands were very painful as a result of the gasoline and the freezing wind, but not a single comrade complained, right up until 14 anti-aircraft guns had been cleaned.

The anti-aircraft guns have been in place for a long time, and although they have coverings, the wheels are exposed to the elements. Zhou Caiming believes that if the wheels are exposed to the elements for a long period of time it will have an adverse effect on their lifespan, so in conjunction with militia in the machine repair shop, he designed and made a metal cover for each wheel, so that each wheel would have a protective "overcoat" to prolong its life.

One unit conducted a live fire test of 30 militia men on the rifle, tommy gun, machine gun and 40 bazooka. It is now learned that on the rifle, tommy gun, machine gun and 40 bazooka, 17, 18, 15 and 20 men respectively qualified. Six men qualified with the rifle as well as with the tommy gun and machine gun, 7 men qualified with the tommy gun as well as with the machine gun and 40 bazooka, 8 men qualified with the rifle as well as with the machine gun and 40 bazooka and 9 qualified with the rifle as well as with the tommy gun and 40 bazooka. (Not one man qualified with just two weapons.) It may well be asked how many qualified with all four weapons.

Strengthening Militia Work Leadership

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Oct 79 p 4

[Article by Da Zheng [6671 2398] and Jin Ming [6855 2494]: "Second Electro-mechanical Bureau Strengthens Militia Work Leadership"]

[Text] The Shanghai Municipal Second Electro-mechanical Bureau Party Committee, believing that the party committee of an industrial bureau must carry forward the party's glorious tradition of taking care of military equipment, self-consciously strengthened leadership in militia work and took the initiative to coordinate district and county militia control departments to collectively pay close attention to militia work.

In May of this year the bureau party committee transferred an experienced comrade who was enthusiastic about this work especially to take charge of militia work. The comrades in bureau agencies responsible for militia work always went down to the most basic levels to understand the situation, discover questions and promptly discuss and solve them in cooperation with district and county militia control departments.

The bureau party committee can promptly study and help resolve problems in militia work at the basic levels. One unit needed to build an armory, and after the party committee understood the circumstances, they promptly approved the construction plans and the necessary funds. Most recently the bureau party committee issued a special "Notice on Strengthening Militia 'Three Establishments' Construction" to all plants demanding that plant party committees: 1) pay close attention to the overhaul and consolidation of militia organizations; 2) match up militia cadres at various levels; 3) strengthen militia political thought education, and thoroughly develop the militia as a mainstay in Four Modernizations construction; 4) thoroughly carry out the principle of engaging in productive labor and carrying out militia duties, and do a good job of military training. Militia cadres and armed core militia members participate in military training as going on duty to be scrutinized and evaluated; and 5) improve care of weapons and equipment.

Spurred on by the bureau party committee, the plant party committees strengthened leadership of militia work. Militia cadres reflect and party committees consider important that our confidence in doing militia work well is even better.

Being a Model Law-Abider

Shanghai JIEFANG RIDAO in Chinese 18 Oct 79 p 4

[Article by Wang Qiangao [3769 0467 7559]: "Study the Legal System; Be a Model Law-abider"]

[text] The militia company of the Incoming Parcel Post Section, Postal Transfer Point of the Posts and Telegraph Bureau, organized the militia to study conscientiously the "Report on the Work of the Government" and the seven laws so that everyone would understand the five relationships: the relationship between democracy and the legal system, the relationship between the legal system and realizing stability and unity, the relationship between strengthening the legal system and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, the relationship between the legal system and realizing the Four Modernizations, and the relationship between strengthening the legal system and carrying out the rules and regulations.

The Incoming Parcel Post Section Party Branch took militia study very seriously. The party branch leadership, together with the militia company, formulated the study plans, and the branch secretary mobilized study and participated in study. When studying they adopted the method of big meetings and small meetings, concentrated and dispersed groups, so that they guaranteed study time but did not affect production. Through study everyone understood that only if the militia studies conscientiously and takes the lead in being law-abiding can they make a contribution to realizing the Four Modernizations and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PUBLIC SECURITY CADRES, POLICEMEN CONFERENCE HELD

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Oct 79 p 3

[Article: "Public Security Bureau Convenes Public Security Cadres and Policemen Conference; Commend Advanced Cadres and Policemen, Fiercely Attack Crime"]

[Text] On the afternoon of 19 October the Municipal Public Security Bureau convened an All-City Public Security Cadres and Policemen Conference in Culture Square to commend the advanced units and individuals who have emerged recently in reorganizing and protecting social order and in the struggle to maintain the attack on the destructive activity of criminal elements and to put forward ideas for further enhancing social order.

Since September, to protect social order, safeguard Four Modernizations construction, and safeguard the safety of people's lives and property, the broad public security cadres and policemen have relied on various forces in the attack on the conduct of destructive activity by a handful of criminals, and have made a certain amount of progress. At yesterday's meeting, the meritorious deeds of 20 advanced units and individuals were highlighted, including those who seized criminals because they were ever-vigilant and discovered crime promptly; those who bravely and resourcefully caught dangerous criminals in struggles with them; those who persisted in cracking cases and uncovering enemies day and night, without regard for personal loss or gain; and those who did many good things for the people to continue the excellent traditions of public security agencies.

Comrade Lu Zheng [7120 2398], deputy chief and deputy secretary of the Municipal Public Security Bureau party organization, spoke at the meeting. He said that at present a handful of hoodlums are murdering and holding up people, and criminals are forming gangs and committing crimes and running rampant. Our public security sections must resolve to adopt decisive measures and determine to forcefully strike down the arrogance of these criminals. He demanded that all public security cadres and policemen encourage a revolutionary spirit, struggle hard and resolutely complete the

glorious mission which the party and people have entrusted to the public security sections. We should coordinate closely with concerned departments to adopt thorough measures, pay close attention to straightening out social order, step up investigating and cracking cases, and fiercely attack the destructive activity of the handful of criminals. We should resolve to uphold the struggle of the masses of the people with criminals, and step up punishment of those class enemies who have the audacity to retaliate. We should actively coordinate concerned aspects to pay close attention to education and reform of youth who break the law and reduce the criminal factors. We should improve the interaction of the police and the courts, closely coordinate relations and united struggle to rapidly reform the state of social order, guarantee the safety of the masses of the people, consolidate a stable and united generally good situation, and make new contributions to safeguard the favorable progress of Four Modernizations construction.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

ROLE, ACTIVITIES OF NEW PEOPLE'S POLICE DISCUSSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Oct 79 p 2

[Article by Yang Huiquan [2799 1920 3123] and Xu Rongliang [1776 2837 5328]: "New Young People's Police of the Luwan [4151 3494] Public Security Sub-bureau Deeply Love the People; Play an Active Role in Safeguarding Public Order"]

[Text] Since the end of last year, the Luwan Public Security Sub-bureau has recruited three groups of young people's police, totaling over 100, who have played an active role in safeguarding public security, attacking criminals and protecting the people's interests.

These 100 new people's police are young and strong, study hard, deeply love the people and have a thorough work style. With the training of the party organization and guidance of older people's police, they have maintained and developed the good traditions of the public security champion and have advanced rapidly both politically and professionally. The new people's policeman Li Jianchun [2621 1696 2504] from the Songshan [1529 1472] Road Police Sub-station began to work this August. Within 2 months he had visited 300 families by himself, and had established close relations with the masses. After less than a year on the job, people's policeman Peng Qichang [1756 0366 2490] was basically familiar with the circumstances of the more than 500 families in his district, and could work on his own. In the struggle with the enemy, these new people's police were brave and resourceful and charged ahead. On 13 September some criminals who were disturbing the masses in an area on Huaihai [3232 3189] Central Road were arrested by them on the spot. Around the time of the National Day celebrations, they patrolled the main streets and side-streets day and night, seizing in all a dozen criminals and protecting the security of the holiday. Before dawn on 28 September, when new people's policeman Yang Xiaomao [2799 1420 3029] was crossing Fuxing [1788 5281] Central Road on his rounds, he discovered three youths in a group who looked suspicious. He went to have a look and saw that two of the youths were holding the other with a triangular razor. Yang immediately understood, "This is a holdup!" "What are you doing?" he called out, and while the two criminals were confused, Yang rushed forward and grabbed the razor from their hands.

"Hand over whatever else you have!" he ordered. Yang Xiaomao then sternly ordered the criminals to hand over their weapons and surrender. Then and there he seized a foot-long knife from the other criminal, recovered a pair of xiulang (4423 6745)-frame eyeglasses which had been taken from the victim and effectively safeguarded the safety of the masses.

To further raise the political and professional level of these new people's police and strengthen their ability to fight the enemy, with the approval of the municipal public security organs, some of them have been sent to public security school for a short course to study politics, law and public security, and for training in techniques for arrest and seizure and traffic control.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TRUST FOR WORKERS, INTELLECTUALS TO ENHANCE CREATIVITY

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Nov 79 p 1

[Text] "Don't suspect a person when you use him; if you are suspicious of him, don't use him." The story of this proverb comes from Zemachine's "A Comprehensive History On Politics and Economy."

During the Zenguang years under the reign of Emperor Taizung of Tang, the emperor learned from history that Emperor Wen of Sui "was ignorant but delighted in looking into things," and that Emperor Yang was very "suspicious." From these historical lessons, Emperor Taizung recognized that "when the emperor and the officials were suspicious of each other, they could not fully devote themselves to their duties, and this was harmful to the nation." At that time, someone suggested an idea to the emperor as a way of detecting bad officials: "When Your Majesty speaks with the officials, why don't you pretend to be angry and test them? Those who stick with their opinions and refuse to bend will be honest officials. Those who are afraid of your power and become submissive, are bad officials." After hearing this idea, the emperor criticized that person by saying that one should treat others with sincerity, and should not rely on power and tactics to distinguish loyalty and disloyalty, and honest and dishonesty. Shortly after the famous general Yutsejingde surrendered to Tang, two of his generals betrayed him. People suspected that inevitably he would also betray them. They advised Emperor Taizung to "put him in prison" and quickly had him executed lest "future troubles would be hard to avoid." Emperor Taizung not only refused to accept this suggestion, but ordered that the general be released; he even "invited the general into the emperor's bedroom, and gave him gold and jade." Because Emperor Taizung treated his subordinates with such honesty and sincerity, General Jingde was extremely grateful and subsequently made numerous contributions to the Tang Dynasty. Emperor Taizung once said, "When an emperor selects talents, he should consider them as his assistants and treat them with honesty and sincerity. One should not expect others to be perfect, but should be able to utilize their strengths and avoid their shortcomings." To those people who handled business with diligence, even if they made mistakes in their work, the emperor did not blame them entirely; rather, he tried to understand the reasons before imposing a heavy

punishment. Precisely because the emperor treated people with sincerity and instilled mutual trust, the result was that "the emperor and the officials were closely united," and were able to accomplish many great tasks in history.

There are many scholars in the U.S. who are world renown, and many of them were resident aliens who later became naturalized. For example, the giant in natural sciences Einstein was a Jew from Germany. The current National Security Advisor to the President, Brzezinski is a Polish native. Whether these individuals participate in high-level scientific research or serve in senior political positions in the U.S., I do not believe they would be subjected to a security investigation that covered three generations in their family because they are being suspected as spies sent to the U.S. by foreign governments. If the people around them, especially their superiors, are suspicious daily that they are some sort of traitors, spies, counterrevolutionaries, or antigovernment, and are afraid to let them do anything meaningful, then these individuals definitely will not make scientific or political contributions, regardless of how great their talents or how hard they work.

On this question, some of our communists who claim that they have studied Marxism have done even worse than the feudal ruler Emperor Taizung of Tang or the capitalists. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" handled things by drawing lines between the gangs, and they brought prosperity to those who were in their gang, and destroyed those who were not. A good revolutionary or a decent scholar, if not belonging to the gang, would be labelled traitor, spy or counterrevolutionary, on a single word of the "chief." Many of them were even arbitrarily imprisoned or tortured to death. During that period of time, what trust was left between individuals? After the "gang of four" was smashed, the situation underwent fundamental changes. Human dignity has received respect. Science has been emphasized. The party has given support to those who want to do good business. However, the ultra-left thinking has still remained with some leading persons in a number of localities. The play "The Future Is Calling," depicts a scientist who has real talents and scholarship, and who has been put in a narrow glass room to direct an important research project concerning national defense. The party secretary in charge of this matter knows that if he does not rely on this scientist, it will damage the party's work, and that for self-interest, his own task cannot be accomplished. Yet if he uses the scientist he cannot feel absolutely secure with the latter. After very thorough consideration, he comes up with what he thinks to be a perfect plan and designs a glass house for the scientist to work in. This type of party secretary, of course, is different from the way in which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" destroyed talents and strangled science, because this party secretary's motivation and starting point are benign. But he is deeply poisoned by the influence of the ultra-left thought. Worse yet, he does not know that he has been poisoned, and he thinks that he is adhering to Marxism, the party's class line and a proletarian policy. What he does not realize is that what he has done are mistakes which obstruct the Four Modernizations, and that he has become an obstacle to the new Long March.

Only those leaders who can use persons without suspecting their loyalty and treat them with sincerity, will gain trust from the mass of intellectuals, and will be able to utilize their positiveness and creativity. Only they will be able to accomplish more, to bring out more talents, and to complete the socialist modernization at an early date.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TRUTH TESTED BY PRACTICE IN SHANDONG PRODUCTION BRIGADE

Beijing ZHIXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 10, Oct 79
pp 74-78

[Article by the party branch of Yandong Production Brigade, Tent County, Shandong, arranged by Han Xikai [7281 0823 0418] and Wang Zhaocheng [3769 0340 2052]: "It Is Absolutely Necessary To Launch Discussion of the Truth Criterion in Rural Areas"]

[Text] Our brigade launched the discussions on practice as the only criterion to test truth in April of this year, but the actual beginning was after the conclusion of the Second Session of the Fifth NPC. On first contact with the issue, the cadres and commune members, due to inadequate understanding, showed no great interest and felt that it was something in the theoretical field which had nothing to do with us "wielders of the hoe." Some even felt that "it is better not to participate in things requiring a glib tongue; we should concentrate on production." Nevertheless, our party branch felt that it was not a trivial matter, for otherwise, how could the discussions be so lively on all fronts in the nation? Why did the party Central Committee make such a high assessment of the discussions? As the proverb says, the beginning of anything is difficult. To make a successful start, ideological understanding must first be solved, so that everyone would comprehend the meaning and goal of the discussions and rectify his attitude. Thereupon, we organized the cadres and commune members to study Comrade Mao Zedong's "On Practice" and "Where Does Man's Correct Thinking Come From?" and the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on theory and practice and learn the bulletins of the Third Plenary Session of the Party Eleventh Central Committee, Premier Hua Guofeng's "government work report" and relevant articles in the newspapers and periodicals. After studying, they realized that practice as the only criterion to test truth is a fundamental principle of Marxism and the correct line of understanding.

The criterion of truth is the measure to judge our ideology and work. When we usually say "do some work," this means called practice in philosophy. All subjective things must undergo the test of practice. Just like using the ruler to determine the height and the scale to determine the weight,

everything must be measured by practice. By upholding the viewpoint of practice first and rectifying thinking, we will correctly understand and implement the party's political line. The cadres and commune members reviewed how the party Central Committee, after smashing the "gang of four," especially since launching the discussions on the criterion of truth, led the people of the whole country to purge the influence of the ultraleft line and courageously brought order out of chaos, such as redressing the Tiananmen incident and many grossly unjust, false and mistaken cases, reinstating a large group of long-tested revolutionaries of the older generation trusted by the people, implementing the party's class policy and all kinds of economic policies in rural areas, etc. Some comrades whose minds had not been emancipated and who felt apprehensive said emotionally: If not tested by practice, these things which have been recorded in documents, made into books, and published in newspapers will be difficult to handle! Large numbers of facts have made us realize that launching the discussion on the criterion of truth will break down the spiritual shackles imposed on us by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," eliminate modern superstition, correct the situation of obeying only the higher-ups and following only good books, overcome bookishness, emancipate thinking, start the machine, and activate all positive factors.

Once launched, the masses all wanted to check the things of our brigade against the Marxist ideological weapon of practice as the only criterion to test truth. The party branch called a special meeting on this matter, reviewed the problems in policy implementation and leadership style in the past several years due to Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" interference, and carried our conscientious discussions. We discussed mainly the following issues:

I. Whether Class Struggle Should Be Taken as the Key Link at the Present Stage Must Be Tested by Practice

When the momentous policy formulated by the Third Plenary Session of the Party Eleventh Central Committee on removing the labels from the reformed landowner and rich peasant elements was first announced to the masses, some of the cadres and people misunderstood it, fearing that removing the labels from the landowner and rich peasant elements would result in losing the "key link" and "departing from the line" and undermine the proletarian dictatorship. Some said that the class essence of the landowner and rich peasant elements would never change and that their labels should not be removed. Others "worried" about it. In the discussions this time, in accordance with the viewpoint of practice as the only criterion to test truth, they made concrete analyses. They first analyzed the situation of the class struggle and the changes in the class relationship in the 30 years since liberation and realized that the landowners and rich peasants were linked with a definite historical stage of production development and that private ownership of land and the hiring of help were the conditions for their existence. As today the production means are all under the collective and popular ownerships, the condition for their

existence as a class has been fundamentally destroyed, the landowner and rich peasant class has vanished, and the class struggle is no longer the "key link" of the current work in our society. They also analyzed the present situation of the six landowner and rich peasant households of the brigade. After undergoing a long struggle and education by the poor and lower-middle peasants, they have reformed themselves into law-abiding self-supporting laborers, and have been active in collective production after the labels were removed from them. After his label was removed, a rich peasant said emotionally: "What we can have today is due to the wisdom of the party's policy and the education of the poor and lower-middle peasants." As proved by facts, by starting from the changed objective situation, the policy of removing the labels from the reformed landowner and rich peasant elements is entirely correct. Rather than weakening the proletarian dictatorship, it weakens the hostile forces, and is favorable to activating all positive factors and realizing stability and unity. After studying and discussing, the cadres and commune members who had objected to removing the labels from the landowner and rich peasant elements realized that the overwhelming majority of them can be reformed and that the view of the immutability of the class essence is incompatible with the historical materialist principle. We must not look from a static, unchanging viewpoint at the landowner and rich peasant elements whose production means have been expropriated. When we say that the essence of the exploiting class will never change, we mean that, when existing as a class in control of the production means and the political power, the landowners and rich peasants will not abandon exploitation and mend their ways. However, after they are deprived of their political power and production means and the exploiting class is destroyed, it is possible for the exploiting class elements to change their class essence. A poor peasant remarked: When I first heard that the labels would be removed from the landowner and rich peasant elements, I was shocked. I worried that it was not suitable and that problems would arise. But the test of practice has proved the wisdom of the party Central Committee's policy, and my worries were superfluous. As long as we have the leadership of the Communist Party and a firm proletarian dictatorship, removing the labels from the law-abiding landowner and rich peasant elements will only benefit the four modernizations. Meanwhile, we also summarized the lessons of expanding the class struggle under the influence of the ultra-left line in recent years. A few years ago, when the second production team adjusted the private plots of the commune members, the standard was below the provisions of the "60 Articles." Some commune members objected, causing disputes. Instead of examining the errors in implementing the policy, we handled the objections as an issue of the class struggle, arbitrarily declared that class enemies were behind the troubles, and insisted on trying to discover the landowner and rich peasant elements taking part in the matter. However, no matter how hard we tried, we were unable to establish a link. The landowner and rich peasant elements had nothing to do with the matter. Many people were harmed in the investigations, the commune members were afraid to express themselves, and everyone felt apprehensive. The analysis of the incident

enabled the cadres and commune members to realize that "connecting everything with the 'key link' and the 'line,'" raising all problems to the level of the "key link" without discrimination, and oppressing people with a label were wrong. They said: Lin Biao and the "gang of four" started from the idealist class assessment, looked for the exploiting class where it did not exist, created "class struggle" where there was no class struggle, and regarded the class struggle as something above everything else, overwhelming and omnipresent, thereby disrupting social and political life and dragging the national economy to the brink of collapse. As shown by practice, if we continue to take the class struggle as the key link as before, talking about it every day and struggling over everything, we will block the development of the production force.

II. Whether Things Which Were Criticized as Capitalism Are Definitely Capitalism Must Be Summarized Through Practice, and the Facts Must Speak for Themselves

Most of the production team leaders of our brigade have served as cadres for many years and experienced the several changes in the rural policy. Recently, when implementing the party Central Committee's two documents on developing agriculture and such effective economic policies as to each according to his work and contracting and quota work, the absolute majority of the cadres felt acquiescent and showed their enthusiastic support. However, there were also those who held this or that different view. Some said: What have we been doing all these years? Changing back and forth makes it hard for people to follow. Others bluntly said: The policies implemented by us today are all things which were criticized as capitalism. Are things which were criticized as capitalism definitely capitalism? This issue became an important subject in the discussions on the criterion of truth. In accordance with the viewpoint of practice first, in connection with the ups and downs in the agricultural development of the brigade in the past 10 plus years, and by combining theory and practice, the broad cadres and masses explained the issue. Before the Great Cultural Revolution, our brigade followed the "management of the four types of enterprises" system and implemented the policy of to each according to his work and more work more pay, and our agricultural production developed year after year. Thereafter, under the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" ultra-left line, gust after gust of evil wind blew, disrupting the rural economic policies, destroying the commune members' legitimate household sideline industries, and confusing the demarcation line between capitalism and socialism. The household sideline production of our brigade possessed a certain foundation, with experience in raising domestic animals and fowls and a tradition of handicraft weaving. Before the Great Cultural Revolution, the commune members in general received an annual income of around 200 yuan per household and were quite well off. Utilizing the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" launched vicious campaigns one after another to criticize the capitalist trend and cut off the capitalist tail and pointed the spearhead of struggle at the broad peasant masses. Our brigade

also suffered greatly. The commune members were forbidden to raise sheep and restricted in raising chickens. Handicraft items were not permitted on the market, and the flour mills and beancurd mills were shut down. Anticapitalist public opinion was widespread. In the study discussions on the criterion of truth, the cadres and masses referred to the party's rural economic policies at the current stage and realized that household sideline production and market trading are compatible with today's level of development of the agricultural production force and with the degree of awareness of the masses, producing a favorable effect on increasing the commune members' income, enlivening the rural economy, and promoting agricultural development, and that the household sideline production under the socialist condition is fundamentally different in essence from capitalism, and constitutes a necessary complement to the socialist economy. On the policy of to each according to his labor, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" vigorously criticized it as the economic foundation for engendering capitalism. Our brigade was seriously affected. One commune member was labeled an "upstart" because of his higher than average income due to the large labor force in his family and their hard work. As a result, the broad commune members were afraid to exert themselves in labor. Whether the work was good or not made no difference, "the same number of work points were awarded, whether for carrying a heavy load with a carrying pole or for carrying chicken feathers," and the people's enthusiasm was suppressed. The 1969 output per mu of grain was only 347 jin, and the brigade needed over 40,000 jin of resold grain and loans totaling over 7,000 yuan. After the smashing of the "gang of four," while leading the masses to vigorously criticize the ultraleft line, our party branch conscientiously enforced quota management and work point allotment according to labor and, by means of the power of the party's policies, mobilized the socialist fervor of the cadres and masses. The 1977 grain output per mu was 1,227 jin, which rose to 1,368 jin in 1978. This year, our party branch further implemented the policy of to each according to his labor and reward for above-norm output, raising the commune members' labor fervor to an unprecedented height. A general bumper harvest was reaped on the brigade's 1,070 mu of wheat, and the output per mu reached 800 plus jin. In the past, harvesting took 8 or 9 days, but this year, it was completed in 3 days, satisfying both the quality and quantity standards. After summarizing, the cadres and masses realized from such vivid facts how Lin Biao and the "gang of four" hoisted the revolutionary banner, confused the right and wrong, and deliberately obliterated the demarcation line between socialism and capitalism. On the surface, they appeared to be promoting socialism and criticizing capitalism, but underneath one could easily see their malicious intent, promoting the false socialism of universal poverty and criticizing true socialism. A production team leader remarked that, with Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" interference and sabotage of more than 10 years, truth was contaminated and it was not at all surprising that correct things were criticized as erroneous things.

III. Whether the Historical Events in the Past Were Right or Wrong Must Be Tested by Practice.

In the discussions on the criterion of truth, we also actively guided the cadres and masses to uphold the principle of practice first and rectify the incorrect conclusions in regard to some incidents in the history of the brigade. The "incident" of nine households withdrawing from the cooperative in 1956 was an example. On this issue, there was no excessive censure at the time. However, during the Great Cultural Revolution more than 10 years later, the matter produced a storm and became a serious incident in the so-called struggles between the two classes and between the two lines in our village, and the nine households were put under great political pressure. In the discussions this time, the cadres and masses adhered to the historical materialist viewpoint and comprehensively analyzed the ideological state of the people at that time. At that time, as the cooperative had just been created, the people did not yet have an adequate understanding of its superiority. At the beginning, only 32 out of the almost 200 households in the village joined the cooperative. Since nothing happened to the 100 plus households which were late in joining, it was unjust for the matter to turn into such a serious issue for the nine households which withdrew for a time and later rejoined together with the others. Actually, the nine households found themselves in a dilemma at that time. They were all households which had reversed themselves, and should have taken the lead in joining the cooperative. However, the economic foundation of the cooperative at that time was very weak while their labor force was strong and they possessed animals, and they were afraid of suffering a disadvantage by joining the cooperative. Therefore, before the majority of the peasants joined, they withdrew. On the road of collectivization in the subsequent 20 plus years, the members of the nine households were active, and some of them even became cadres of production teams. The cadres and masses concluded that their withdrawal from the cooperative was wrong and produced an unfavorable effect. However, to classify the incident as a struggle between the two classes and between the two lines apart from taking into account the degree of awareness and the economic conditions at that time and without analysis, and to handle them as contradictions between the enemy and ourselves were also wrong. The incident of the 1967 power seizure was discussed next. In the discussions, the various production teams all brought up the issue, because many groundless charges were made at that time against the broad cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants at that time and these charges had not been completely dropped even now, and they found this unfair. We also wanted to rectify the matter for a long time, but were apprehensive, afraid of offending the "higher-ups" and of harming the masses taking part in the power seizure. Therefore, we were reluctant to touch this "forbidden area." In the discussions this time, our party branch led the commune members to analyze the issue conscientiously. They concluded that, though hoisting the revolutionary banner, the evildoer seizing power at that time actually did things that endangered the interests of the party and the people, leading to the collapse of the collective economy and the reemergence of beggar households, and therefore, the matter must be righteously rectified.

After undergoing the discussions of the two incidents, the broad cadres and commune members realized profoundly that, even though conclusions have been reached and written records made, things of the past must be tested and judged by practice. What is proved to be wrong by practice must be corrected. Only relying on practice, instead of relying on the higher-ups or on books, constitutes the correct attitude of seeking truth from facts.

IV. Whether the Guidance of Production Is Correct Must Also Be Tested by Practice

In the discussions, the commune members, in connection with the work of the brigade party branch, brought up three issues. 1. Grasping "grain" only, not "money." In the past 10 years plus, we failed to handle correctly the relationship between agriculture and sideline and diversification. In order to grasp grain, all other crops had to give way. In the fall of 1977, to plant early wheat, over 300 mu of immature bean crops were destroyed. The warm winter caused the rush-planted wheat to grow vigorously. Despite the taking of "crash" measures, output decreased by more than 10 percent and the masses were dissatisfied. As we failed to act according to objective economic laws, we pursued grain output only while ignoring the development of diversification and sidelines. Though the unit grain output exceeded 1,000 jin, the commune members received no cash allotment. Even in 1977, over 70 percent of the commune members did not receive any cash from the collective, and their enthusiasm suffered a setback. Ours is a wheat-producing area. To improve agriculture, naturally, we must grasp grain first, which is the correct way to develop agriculture. However, if we concentrate on grain only and ignore diversification, we will not succeed in agriculture and grain output will not increase. Even if the grain output were to increase, we would still be a high-yield poor brigade. The relationship between agriculture and sidelines is interdependence and mutual promotion. To use our everyday words, it is to let agriculture lead the sidelines and let the latter promote the former. Only when we succeed in diversification will we promote and guarantee the development of grain production. Learning the lesson since 1977, we started from reality, adjusted to local conditions, and developed diversification and brigade industries and sidelines. Currently, our brigade operates a pottery oil mill, flour mill and beancurd mill, and engages in grain processing, lumber industry, casting, farm machinery repair and parts supply, machine processing, etc., which are developing steadily and rapidly. Last year, the total output value of industries and sidelines reached 340,000 yuan, and over 80 percent of the commune members received cash allotments from the collective. It is estimated that the total industrial and sideline output value this year will more than double that of last year, and the commune members will receive an average of around 30 yuan per capital. The commune members said: To hasten agricultural development, we must correctly and completely implement the policies of "simultaneous promotion of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery" and "taking grain as the key link and general development; adjusting to the locale and suitable centralization," which constitute the objective law for developing agricultural production. In philosophical language, it

is called the truth, and any violation will bring punishment. 2. Arbitrary transplanting, copying the experiences of other areas and lacking the workstyle of seeking truth from facts. In the spring of 1976, the comrades of our party branch went to other parts of the country on an observation trip. Seeing some good-looking pig farms with red buildings and brick walls, they imitated them upon their return to the brigade, dismantling the existing "countrified" pig farms and using large amounts of bricks and tiles and cement to build a "western-style" farm for 1,000 pigs. Instead of starting from the practical conditions of the brigade and analyzing the feed supply and the capacity of the brigade, they blindly copied the experience of other areas. Though many cadres and masses expressed objections, we paid no attention to them. In the end, due to the lack of experience and the shortage of feed, the pig farm, occupying 20 mu of land was on display for more than 2 years, wasting labor and money. The commune members said: Any project which is not started from reality and not carried out according to the workstyle of seeking truth from facts will not withstand the test of practice. We also deeply realized that, in agricultural production, we must start from reality, adjust to local conditions, and act according to objective economic laws. If the path is correct, developing production will not be a problem. If we fail to look at the concrete conditions and start from reality, subjectively issue orders, arbitrarily copy the experience of other areas, and blindly follow instructions from higher-ups, we will suffer the punishment of practice, damage the enthusiasm of the cadres and masses, and effect, or even harm, the development of agricultural production. 3. Overlooking ideological-political work after introducing the "five-fixes and one reward" system. After the shifting of the emphasis of the party's work, our brigade introduced the "five fixes and one reward" system. Some cadres thought that ideological work was no longer necessary, and such work was slackened for a time. There was the following instance: When removing the stubble after wheat harvesting this year, the first and fourth production teams had the same number of laborers and the same tasks. As the fourth production team paid attention to ideological-political work while following the system of contracting and quota work, its cadres and masses brought forth the spirit of exerting themselves and battling continuously. The 12 laborers completed the stubble-removal task on 60 mu of land according to the quality and quantity standards in 6 days. On the other hand, though also following the system of contracting and quota work, the first production team overlooked ideological-political work. As a result, some of its members feared hardship and exertion, wanted to rest for a few days after the strenuous labor of harvesting, and refused to work even when offered more work points. They worked off and on, and it took them 18 days to remove the stubble on 60 mu of land. The corn seedlings in the field cleared by the fourth production team were 50 percent taller than those in the field cleared by the first production team. This vivid instance made the cadres and masses realize that, after the shifting of the emphasis of the party's work, ideological-political work, instead of being reduced, has increased. In terms of the rural area, ideological-political work is a fundamental issue linked with the direction and path of agricultural production and an important guarantee for speeding up agricultural modernization. Managing the economy with economic means and strengthening ideological-political work constitute a dialectic unity. This, also, is an objective truth proved by the test of practice.

After the discussions, we deeply realized that expanding the discussions on the criterion of truth to the rural basic level is absolutely necessary; it is an excellent way to spread the Marxist education among the broad rural cadres and commune members. As aptly put by the commune member masses of our brigade, "By participating in the discussions, our minds have cleared, our courage has grown, and we have definite views." Some of the masses also said: Now that we have the ideological weapon of the criterion of truth, if anyone should come out again and issue blind orders, we will not listen to him. Take the incident of applying additional fertilizer to the corn crop in the summer of this year as an example: Besides chemical fertilizer, we planned to buy 20 jin of expensive bean cake at .39 yuan per jin for every mu, or 7,176 yuan for the 920 mu of corn. Hearing about it, the masses objected to the "simple reliance on commercial fertilizer and disregard of the cost of grain." We found their objection reasonable. Failing to calculate the cost of grain was one of the main reasons which made us a high-yield poor brigade. Thus, we immediately studied the matter and applied 2 units of manure fertilizer per mu instead of beancake. We must correctly regard the opinions coming from the masses. As leaders, we must not listen to just the favorable side; it is even more important to listen to the unfavorable side. Practice is the goal of understanding. In regard to the critical suggestions of the masses, we will not delay making any change which has been proved by practice to be correct. One step of practical action is more important than one dozen self-criticisms. When the masses saw our determination to make corrections, the discussions became more lively, and they made more rationalization suggestions. The second production team alone made 27 suggestions. Such suggestions produced a positive effect on accelerating the agricultural development of our brigade. Our party branch also found that the commune membership masses have emancipated their minds and that we have become more confident when pondering issues and making plans and more reliable in our work.

Our brigade has preliminarily become aware of the benefits of discussing the criterion of truth. The ideological line of the broad cadres and masses has become relatively correct. They are no longer apprehensive about expressing themselves and doing things. The entire brigade is of one mind from top to bottom, united and harmonious, and a situation of concretely promoting agricultural production and all items of work is gradually unfolding.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PROMOTE PHILOSOPHY AS AN INDEPENDENT SCIENCE

Beijing ZHIXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 10, Oct 79
pp 3-4, 18

[Article by staff commentator: "Struggle for a Flourishing Science of Philosophy"]

[Text] This is the 30th anniversary of our great People's Republic of China. It has been 30 years of rich historical content, filled with momentous earth-shaking events, intricate and soul-stirring struggles, success and failure, joy and pain, light and darkness. For this very reason, the historical footprints of the period are deeply impressed on the process of our social development, and the experiences and lessons are of a tremendous value to the future of mankind. It is the great practice of several hundred million people to build socialism on an economically backward foundation. We should regard the historical experience of the past 30 years as a valuable asset, and conscientiously summarize and utilize it. This will be the best memorial to the past and a positive contribution to the future.

I

Marx once said that philosophy is the essence of the era. According to an even older expression, it is the crystallization of wisdom. This simply means that philosophy is the supreme summation of man's practical activities and the epitome of historical experience. The greater the experience of historical practice, the more solid will be the foundation for the development of philosophy. In addition, the development of philosophy is inseparable from the condition and extent of the ideological emancipation of society. In other words, we must break through the forbidden areas restricting philosophic exploration and the irrational demands on its functions and effects.

Only when sublimated will the practical experience of history become philosophy, and only the ruthless exposure of the essence of things will become scientific philosophy. This one and only scientific philosophy is the dialectic materialism and historical materialism of Marxism. As we all know, the scientific essence of the Marxist philosophy is one of

the fundamental and principal characteristics distinguishing it from other philosophical systems. That it has become an invincible spiritual weapon of the proletariat is precisely because of such a scientific essence.

"Philosophy takes the proletariat as its material weapon. Likewise, the proletariat takes philosophy as its spiritual weapon." This is an irrefutable truth. However, our interpretations of this truth are not refutable. Sometimes we forget the scientific foundation which makes the Marxist philosophy the spiritual weapon of the proletariat, one-sidedly stress its service to the interest of the proletariat, i.e., its class and party essences, and sever it from its scientific essence, or even place them on opposite sides. During their rampage, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" actually wanted to sacrifice the scientific essence of philosophy under the excuse of subordination to the interest of the proletariat, of serving politics, and of the principle of the party essence. As we all know, when the two are thus placed on opposite sides, it is impossible to truly serve the interest of the proletariat, politics and party essence, and it will not be the true Marxist philosophy. Therefore, refusing to obey such political need or to accept such demand of the party essence is justified.

Fundamentally opposing the scientific essence of philosophy with its class and party essences, as nakedly done by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," was naturally a temporary historical phenomenon, but its pernicious influence and effect cannot be purged in a short time. One of the manifestations of its effect is to make the principle of the party essence the blind for ideological ossification and the excuse for refusing to follow the "double hundred" policy, thereby turning it into an obstacle to ideological emancipation. The essence of science is creative research. Asking that the achievements of scientific research, i.e., knowledge of objective laws summarized from practical experience, conform to existing conclusions and coincide with views whose accuracy is highly doubtful, and thereby suppressing disputes between differing opinions, is incompatible with the scientific essence.

We maintain that the proletariat takes the Marxist philosophy as its spiritual weapon only because the Marxist philosophy scientifically reveals the truth of the law of social development, and that the Marxist philosophy takes the proletariat as its material weapon is only because the proletariat, in the present stage of history, embodies the demand of social development and constitutes the material force for realizing objective truth. Obviously, that the Marxist philosophy conforms to and subserves the interest of the proletariat is precisely because the latter conforms to and subserves the truth of social development. The two are unified on the foundation of conforming to objective truth. To adhere to the principle of party essence in philosophy requires adherence to the scientific essence of dialectic materialism and historical materialism. Any violation of this scientific essence is a manifestation of an error, or even the absence of, party essence and is contrary to the fundamental interests of

the proletariat. To make philosophy truly a spiritual weapon of the proletariat and to bring development and prosperity to philosophy, we must stress and respect its scientific essence.

II

A narrow view has been in existence for a long time: serving the current politics and the actual class struggle is the principal, or even the only, task of philosophy. Under the influence of this view, not only the study of philosophy per se is regarded as a severance from politics and reality, but the same demand is made on the research of philosophical principles as on the propaganda for current policies. This inevitably affects the specialized study and exploration of philosophical theories. Under certain conditions, very easily philosophical disputes are directly and simply equated with political line struggles, thereby creating the harmful consequence of confusing academic and political issues.

That philosophy must serve the interest of the proletariat is a proposition of wide-ranging implication. As a world view and methodology, philosophy guides the practical activities in all realms of society. Here, guiding is serving. Philosophy serves the production struggle and scientific experimentation as well as the class struggle. To limit the object of its service to one realm, or even to subordinate it to a certain realm, is at least one-sided. Meanwhile, philosophy possesses special functions and effects; therefore, it serves other realms of social life with special means and in special forms. To furnish the most universal methodology to all understanding processes and practical activities is the fundamental content of the service of philosophy in all realms, including politics. The characteristic of such content determines that one must not, and should not, ask it to take charge of everything and replace all others. In essence, to apply the methodology of philosophy in solving the various concrete problems in the various realms is the affair of the various realms themselves. If one should feel that philosophy is not very useful because of this, this would be shortsighted, narrow pragmatism, just like negating the value of the basic theories of natural science because they cannot directly solve certain concrete problems in the practice of production. This would basically jeopardize social practice.

In terms of the philosophical realm itself, its main task is the study of philosophical principles in order to create better ideological weapons. Actually, it is the same for all realms of social life: only when they successfully perform their own tasks will they be able to render better service to other realms. If they do not complete the tasks assigned to them under the social labor division, they cannot talk about serving other realms. From the long-range view, this will damage not only the development of the particular realms but also that of the entire social life.

III

Party leadership is the basic guarantee for the success of our country's socialist enterprises. As proved by experience, the correct guidance of Marxism is to direct the development of the enterprises according to their own objective laws. Naturally, it is also thus with the enterprise of philosophy.

The law of the development of philosophy is the law of the development of understanding, because the process of philosophical development is the process of the development of man's understanding. Therefore, the only correct policy to guide and develop philosophy according to the law of understanding is the "double hundred" policy scientifically formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong. The philosophical foundation of the "double hundred" policy is dialectic materialist epistemology. It recognizes the dialectics of understanding and the fact that understanding is only a developmental process from the one-sided to the all-round, and it does not consider understanding as something which can be accomplished at one time. Therefore, it does not regard the disputes between different opinions in the process of understanding as bad things and prohibit them; on the contrary, it regards them as proper in the process of understanding and encourages them. To fear the contention of different opinions, or to limit the so-called "contention" to correct opinions, is either a misinterpretation of the "double hundred" policy or resisting it in reality while paying it lipservice.

To truly implement the "double hundred" policy, we must, in academic research, promote creative views and independent thinking and obey only truth. In academic issues, the minority must not be subordinated to the majority, nor must views be unified mechanically and forcibly. As proved repeatedly by historical experience, forcible unification actually creates superficial unity. By their tyrannical control of public opinion, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" seemed to have attained absolute uniformity of views in a certain period, but actually, such false uniformity was merely a sort of historical mockery. The reason is quite simple: objective laws and the truth correctly reflecting them cannot be destroyed by any force or coercion.

The correct ideological and political lines provided by the Third Plenary Session of the Party Eleventh Central Committee have opened the way for the great cause of our socialist modernization. Our philosophical work must, under the guidance of the party's correct ideological and political lines, scientifically summarize the historical experiences of the past 30 years, learn the lessons, improve our understanding, strive to complete the tasks assigned to us by the era, and struggle for the development and prosperity of the science of philosophy.

6080

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS DISCUSSED

'Withering Away' Unacceptable

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Oct 79 p 3

[Article: "'Struggle for the Withering Away of Trade Unions' Is a 'Leftist' Slogan"]

[Text] Comrades familiar with the history of trade unions probably all remember clearly that before 1957, trade union activity was quite vigorous all over the country, and there was a close relationship between the trade unions and the laboring masses. At that time, no one doubted the necessity for the existence of trade unions. In 1958 some people within the trade unions proposed a slogan, "Struggle for the Withering Away of Trade Unions." Their theoretical basis was that the laboring classes were like children, and the trade unions were like a diaper, but what use is a diaper when the child has grown up? Consequently, there blew up a rather severe wind of "withering away of trade unions," and some trade union organizations ceased to exist except in name. Later, although there was some correction, the vigor of the trade unions was undermined, and the activism of the masses of trade union cadres was blunted, with very serious consequences. Even today, there are still persons who question the need for trade unions, and feel that it doesn't matter whether we have them or not. There is a great need to clear up the true and false of this question.

I believe that "Struggle for the Withering Away of Trade Unions" is a "leftist" slogan, and that it has caused a totally unrealistic and erroneous appraisal of the position and function of trade unions under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Following the victory of the October revolution in the Soviet Union, how did Lenin regard the position and function of trade unions? Lenin said: "The existence of trade unions may become a problem, but that is a matter of the distant future, so let us leave this question to be discussed by our grandchildren. The problem for now is how to handle the masses, how to take the masses into hand, and relate to the masses, and how to regulate the work well (the work of implementing the dictatorship of the proletariat) and all the complex gearing of it." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4

p 406) Lenin's viewpoint was very clear, that for a comparatively long time after the taking of power by the proletariat class, the question is not whether or not there is a necessity for trade unions, but rather how to strengthen them, and how to fully develop their proper function in relation to the broadest masses of workers.

Comrades who proposed the slogan "Withering Away of Trade Unions," were completely contrary to Lenin's appraisal. At the time, the working class had only taken power nationwide a mere 9 years previously, socialist construction had just begun, and they assumed that the historical mission of the trade unions had been completed, and like a child's diaper, the sooner they were discarded, the better.

Was it just that Lenin's thesis did not suit the actual situation in China, and that our political and economic life at that time had really produced an objective necessity for the withering away of the trade unions? This was fundamentally not so. The comrades who proposed the slogan, "Withering Away of Trade Unions," under the influence of the "communist wind," made a "leftist" estimate of the situation in the country that seriously departed from objective fact, and assuming that "communism was right before their eyes," and that disparities between industry and agriculture, disparities between city and country, would quickly fade away, so trade unions would no longer have any reason for being. Practice has already proven how rash and how wrong this "leftist" slogan was.

Trade unions are the mass organization of the working class, and they are closely connected to the historical mission of the working class. The working class not only needs the trade union organization during the struggle for national political power, but trade unions are still essential for a long period of time after power has been seized. The historical mission of the working class is the complete elimination of the social system under which man exploits man, and the elimination of classes. Seizing national political power is only one historical step in the march toward this objective. For the final attainment of this objective, the working class must still carry on various kinds of struggle as a class, and must unceasingly raise the degree of their own consciousness and organization. In the course of this, the interests of the working class may still be encroached upon in this or that way, and they must have their own representatives to provide additional protection. Therefore, just as the working class cannot do without its own vanguard, the leadership of the Communist Party, it also cannot do without its own mass organizations, trade unions. It is impossible to imagine, in our socialist country, a working class of several tens of millions (still increasing with time) being placed in the position of having no organization and still being able to complete its own historical mission effectively. Therefore, the theory of "Withering Away of Trade Unions" and the theory of "trade unions being optional" are both erroneous and damaging to our affairs. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" rampaged about, they "smashed" the trade union organization, they usurped leadership of a part of the trade unions, and they placed many trade

unions in a state of paralysis. Doesn't everyone know clearly what kind of consequences this situation produced?

After the Party Central Committee, headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, broke up the "gang of four," they were very concerned about and supportive of the trade unions, and reiterated the important position and function of trade unions, pointing out the direction for the trade unions to take. Comrade Ye Jinying's speech on the occasion of National Day clearly demanded that trade unions be an important representative of the laboring masses. After more than 20 years, this life-and-death question of whether or not the trade unions should just wither away can be considered finally clarified.

Trade Union Independence Urged

Beijing CONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Oct 79 p 3

[Article: "Independent Responsibility Can Only Be Achieved by Casting Off Spiritual Shackles"]

[Text] At present, an important problem faced by trade union cadres is the necessity to liberate thinking. In his National Day address, Vice-chairman Ye pointed out that the trade unions must actively take the initiative, be independently responsible for developing the work, and resolutely protect the interests of the masses they represent. Trade union cadres in our plant studied public speaking and were very inspired. Everyone related to reality, and the point learned most intensely was that trade union cadres can only develop the work with independent responsibility by casting off their spiritual shackles.

A leader of the former All-China Federation of Trade Unions once suggested that the party committee must "maintain the organizational independence of the trade unions and let them develop activities independently." Later, it was decided that this idea "fundamentally denied party leadership." After that, trade union cadres no longer dared use the word "independent," and the party committee was asked first for guidance on everything. If the party committee didn't say anything, it was better not to do anything. In this way, if the party committee was dissatisfied or the masses had complaints, the trade union cadres themselves became very worried.

How did our plant solve this problem? Early this year, the plant party committee proposed restoration of the workers congress system that had been suspended for years, and required that the plant's trade union take on the work of various preparations for the congress. We knew that the party committee wanted the trade union to develop its function positively and actively, but at that time we had not yet thrown off our spiritual shackles, and everyone felt themselves under great pressure, afraid to stir up the masses, because it was a problem that defied solution, inviting blame from both sides, or perhaps the commission of error. Later, at the preparatory meeting for the workers' congress, delegates raised questions continuously for 2 days, and some workers proposed that they be resolved through discussion at the

congress. At this time we felt a lingering fear, and then we also began to look up. The fact was that the broad masses are reasonable, and the workers' representatives announced that any of the questions that could be solved in a positive manner; any time something cannot be solved or is contrary to party policy, the leadership will provide an answer by seeking truth from facts. In the end, the congress satisfactorily passed resolutions on this year's increase production and practice economy plan and to strengthen and rectify the plant and turn it into a Daqing type enterprise. Originally, the workers of the plant had many complaints that the trade union was not concerned with the masses and that the style of the leadership cadres was not penetrating. At the congress, plant leaders spontaneously carried out self-criticism; after the congress, the plant manager and the secretary of the party committee personally took charge of implementing the congress's proposals, and rapidly solved a group of problems that had accumulated for years, the plant became unified, working as one to create a good situation for the Four Modernizations. Following the workers' congress, the plant party committee encouraged the trade union to work with even more independent responsibility in the future. Several plant managers care a great deal about the trade union and have allowed trade union cadres to participate in many administrative meetings and express the demands of the masses.

From these facts we can see that the plant party committee hopes that the trade union will be able to take an active initiative, develop its work with independence and responsibility, and speak for the workers. The administrative leaders of our plant also recognize that the trade union speaks for the masses, to provide a kind of encouragement for the enterprise. We ourselves have gradually cast off our spiritual shackles and taken a step step in the direction of carrying out our work with independence and responsibility. We understand that if we want to be truly liberated from our spiritual shackles, aside from the trade union cadres liberating their own thinking and raising their consciousness, a very important requirement is that the party committee of this unit must take the function of the trade union seriously, support the trade union's development of its work, and support the trade union's struggle to protect the interests of the masses.

Beijing Heavy Machinery Plant Trade Union

Ren Yuqing [0117 3768 3237] and Li Yinyan [2621 6892 3601]

Trade Unions Need Authority

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Oct 79 p 3

[Article: "The Trade Unions Cannot Be Treated This Way"]

[Text] The question of how the trade unions ought to develop their function requires study. At present, there are many reasons why the trade unions are not developing their work well, and principal among them are the following two:

First, if the trade unions are to develop their function, they must have duties and authority, but the trade unions of some units are placed in the position of having duties but no authority, and the work that must basically be done by the trade union is extensive, for example: political and ideological education, labor competition, labor insurance and welfare, cultural life, etc. However, because there has been no discrimination between the party and the government for the past few years, large and small matters are all decided on by the party committee, and handled directly by the party committee, so that the masses have no confidence in the trade union, but take anything that comes up to the party committee for a decision, and the trade union itself has no enthusiasm. The reason why this situation has come about is principally that the party committee has no confidence in the trade union and does not dare give the trade union a free hand to develop its function. So they have held back all the authority that the trade union ought to exercise, leaving the trade union with duties but no authority. For example, once the party committee has studied and formed a decision regarding socialist labor competition, why could they not let the trade union organize it and not require that the party committee handle it personally? Of course, I am not opposing the party committee's handling of socialist labor competition, only saying that they ought to develop the function of the trade union organization.

Second, the party committee must change its habit of letting the trade union cadres work at miscellaneous jobs. The leaders of some basic level units treat trade union cadre to fill the vacancy wherever they need someone, which has an extremely great influence on the normal operations of the trade union and makes it impossible for them to do their own work well. So no wonder, then, that the masses mock them: "Trade union, trade union, all you know is to collect your dues, no one looks for anything important to work at, and unimportant details are not worth bothering with."

If we want to develop the function of the trade unions completely, the party committee must take them seriously and must let them do their work. By monopolizing the major authority and decentralizing the minor authority, leaving decisions up to the party committee and letting other parties carry out their parts, this principle will not be neglected, and the trade union will be allowed to develop its function fully under the leadership of the party committee.

Zhu Dashi [2612 1129 1395], First Team, Second Construction Company, Beijing Municipal Light Industry Bureau

Youths Have Doubts

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Oct 79 p 3

[Article: "Enthusiastic People Must Be Allowed To Be Trade Union Cadres"]

[Text] Editor:

On 10 October your paper carried a letter from a group of workers who did not welcome the establishment of a trade union. This is a sentiment we

have wanted to express for a long time. Most of us are young workers who got our jobs in 1975, but almost none of us are trade union members up to now. We all are too unclear on the nature and duties of the trade union, and do not understand very well what function the trade union organization serves after all; we only hear the older members say that union dues are deducted each month, and the money is spent for viewing motion pictures; sometimes the union is disinclined to buy the tickets, so they give the money to the workers to buy them for themselves. Besides this, we have not seen any other activities. Therefore, we young workers feel that it makes no difference whether we join the union or not. Why is this after all? We feel that besides being destroyed by the ravages of the "gang of four," the trade union organization has suffered for another reason, which is that the cadres of some unions, even today, are too soft, are disinclined to think, and cannot develop the work actively and boldly, only repeating, and not very well, some of the original activities.

We propose that competent persons, those who think about the interests of the workers in every situation, and those comrades who handle the affairs of the workers, be allowed to take over leadership of basic level trade unions, to develop the richness of the various aspects of the workers' lives, to mobilize everyone's activism, to make everyone realize that the trade union is a workers' organization, able to develop its proper function in the Four Modernizations.

Wang Shengtong [3769 3932 2717], Honghu County Vegetable Company, Hubei Province

Leading Group Criticized

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Oct 79 p 3

[Article: "The Crux Is the Deployment of the Leading Group"]

[Text] In view of the present situation and the requirements placed on the trade unions by the party, there are still many problems to the trade union work, principal among them being the question of deployment of the trade union leading group. There are four words connected with the present deployment of the trade union leading group: slow, deficient, shifting, and deviation. Slow means that the trade union leading group is deployed slowly. The superiors have the documents early, and require that the trade union chairman be equivalent to the deputy chief of party and government organs of the same echelon, but some units delay deployment under various pretexts. Deficient means that the quality of the trade union cadres is deficient. Some units assign their old and infirm cadres to the trade union leading group, so how can they develop the function of the trade union? Shifting means that there are numerous transfers of trade union cadres, and some even make a cadre transfer post of the trade union. Deviation means placing the trade union's position off to the side. The trade union ought to

be under the direct guidance of the party committee, but some units place the trade union under the guidance of a political department, creating three kinds of administrative offices.

If we want to develop the function of the trade union fully, we must deploy the trade union leading group well. We should assign to the trade union leading group those cadres with high political consciousness, strong professional ability, great work enthusiasm, and good relations with the masses. We must preserve the relative stability of the trade union cadre, so they can become more familiar with trade union operations and do the trade union work well. The trade union must be under the direct guidance of the party committee, not the proxy management of the political department, and even less should it be considered an ordinary administrative office.

Wang Zhenming [3769 2182 6900], Shougang Coke Plant, Beijing

Party Organization Must Participate

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Oct 79 p 3

[Article: "If the Party Committee Does Not Take It Seriously, Trade Union Work Cannot Become Dynamic"]

[Text] A trade union that does not speak for the worker, does not do anything for the worker, but simply hangs up a trade union sign, is of course exceedingly undesirable. But why should there be such a sign-hanging trade union? Is it that the trade union cadres are unwilling to serve the workers? To the best of my knowledge, this is not the case. The problem is in the way the party organization of some units lead the trade union work. The party organizations of some units wrongly consider the trade union a mass organization, of no real importance. They ordinarily do not give the trade union any duties, and those things that should be done by the trade union are divided up among other departments, leaving the trade union without anything to do, making it a sign-hanging [in name only] trade union, and making the trade union cadre into cadre in name only, to which the working masses greatly object.

If the party organization took trade union work seriously and paid attention to the development of the trade union's fighting function, the trade union work would become very vigorous and would receive the deep support of the mass of workers. In the case of our plant, because the plant party committee takes a relatively serious view of the trade union, and takes the initiative in assigning work to them and handing over duties, as well as making the duties and direction to be taken by the trade union explicit, the trade union handles a great deal of work, such as labor insurance and welfare, political education of the workers, cultural education, recreational and sports activities, as well as the work of the workers' congress, labor competitions, etc., becoming a strong helping hand for the party organization. For this reason, the trade union cadres are very busy and have to run a

"night bus" almost every day, arriving home very late every night. The harder the trade union cadres work, the more energy they have. When the working masses see the trade union cadres serving them, their hearts fill with admiration and gratitude, and they say "The trade union is really a home for us workers!"

It seems that it is very important for the party organization on the same level to take trade union work seriously and support the trade union work. With the support of the party organization, trade union work can be improved a great deal, can be done in a lively way and a penetrating way, and be deeply welcomed by the working masses.

Zhang Lijun [1728 4539 0193] Shanghai Zhonghua Printing Plant

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CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LITERATURE, ART SAID MOST DAMAGED BY ULTRALEFT

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Nov 79 p 3

[Article by Yu Lin /0358 26517: "We Must Thoroughly Criticize the Ultra-left Line"]

[Text] Only by continuing to emancipate our minds and criticizing and repudiating the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in greater depth will we be able further to develop and bring prosperity to socialist literature and art. The broad masses of literature and art workers are coming to understand this more and more deeply. With the criticism and repudiation of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" since the "gang" was smashed, a delightful situation has appeared in the realm of literature and art of flourishing, with a hundred flowers contending in beauty. This situation did not come easily. It was obtained by criticizing and repudiating the fascist cultural dictatorship of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," especially their fallacies such as "the black line dictatorship in literature and art," and after breaking into the sundry forbidden areas set up by the "gang of four."

However, this good situation in literature and art is only a beginning. We must recognize with the utmost clarity that the road ahead still contains difficulties and obstructions. Among these are the poisonous influence of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the ossified and semi-ossified thinking of some comrades. To put these difficulties and obstructions in a nutshell, they are the ultraleft trend of thought in literature and art. Overcoming this trend of thought is no simple matter.

We must unfold a two line struggle to do away with the interference from both "left" and right. There is no doubt about this. But looking at the reality of the struggle in literature and art in the 30 years since liberation, the interference and sabotage of the ultraleft trend of thought has far exceeded the rightist tendency.

Some bad plays appeared on the literature and art stage in 1956, which should have been appropriately criticized. But the "left" trend of thought appeared in the course of criticism. By 1957 this was combined with the anti-rightist struggle, causing serious damage to literature and art circles. As a result,

very many good works, plays and operas and literary and artistic criticisms were branded as poisonous weeds and a number of authors and artists were incorrectly delineated as rightists. During the Great Leap Forward in 1958, a new atmosphere appeared in various areas of breaking down superstition and being high spirited, but at the same time there appeared a tendency to boast and exaggerate, idealism, formalism and metaphysics, and in literary and artistic creations these were made into proper praiseworthy things. Some works emerged with the times which were boastful, mendacious and full of empty talk. Facts have shown that this kind of work is unsuccessful and even harmful. This tendency developed down to the anti-rightist tendency of 1959. Even some inspiring philosophy directed at the people talked about by a famous poet looking at the starry sky was criticized and repudiated inappropriately. It was only during the three year period of economic difficulties that this erroneous trend of thought weakened. During this period, Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Chen Yi delivered many important speeches to the literary and art circles, forcefully criticizing and repudiating the "left" trend of thought and clearly and deeply expounding the question of democracy in literature and art. They stressed that we must develop democracy and definitely cannot engage in "five masters graduate from the examination system [wu zi deng ke: 0063 1311 4098 4430]," and must reverse the verdicts on writers and works which were incorrectly criticized and repudiated. They pointed out that, having undergone long-term artistic practice and ideological reform, the intellectuals in literature and art circles have made very great progress and we cannot any more call them bourgeois intellectuals; rather, we should term them revolutionary intellectuals, and the like. Their speeches provided the broad masses of literature and art workers with tremendous education and encouragement, cleared up some differences of opinion and misunderstandings which had been created between comrades by the ultraleft trend of thought and greatly strengthened unity within literary and art circles. The situation on the literature and art front turned some for the better and a new flourishing situation began to appear. But by 1964 this hard-won lively situation vanished very quickly.

The serious damage to the literary and art circles did not just begin with the Great Cultural Revolution. We should say that it began in 1964. At that time, Jiang Qing and that "adviser" who later usurped leadership authority in the Cultural Revolutionary Group poked their noses into the literary and art circles. That fellow Zhang Chunqiao was in cahoots with them. They preached the so-called "write 13 years" fallacy and arbitrarily ordered writers only to write about the 13 years after liberation. They did not allow them to write on any other theme, including revolutionary historical themes, narrowing and narrowing the road of theme. People cannot forget the time when, at the Northeast Modern Drama Festival, a "great personage" of the Northeast left in a huff after viewing only two scenes of a drama from Anhui and arbitrarily branded it a poisonous weed. Because of this, the author of the play was attacked and persecuted. This was a signal, and they prepared to do surgery on the literary and art circles. Following this a whole series of literary and art works came under their club. Just speaking of motion pictures, there were "Early Springtime February," "The

Lin Family Store," "Family of Revolution," "Jiangnan of the North Country," "A Thousand Li against the Wind," "Peach Blossom Fan," "The Angry Tide," "Dashing Waves of the Red River" and "Ashima"—a set of works which were criticized as poisonous weeds. The novel "Liu Zhidan" was branded by name as a poisonous weed by that "adviser." This was yet another serious damage and disaster inflicted on literary and art circles by the ultraleft trend of thought. After the Cultural Revolution began, the serious harm suffered by the literary and art circles became even more serious. The 10 years of fascist cultural despotism under Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were an unprecedented catastrophe. It was by nature different from previous ultraleft trends of thought. To serve their evil goal of usurping the party and seizing state power, they deliberately manufactured an ultraleft line as a cover with theories, programs and plans. The "Summary of the Forum on Literary and Art Work in the Armed Forces" concocted in partnership by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing raised a series of anti-Marxist proposals on literature and art. Our tasks in criticizing and repudiating the various fallacies spread about by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on literature and art, and in purging their poisonous influence, are still enormously difficult.

The characteristic manifestations of the ultraleft trend of thought in the realm of literature and art are as follows: to treat literary and artistic questions as political questions; and to make all questions of politics without exception into questions of contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. Those people who carried out the ultraleft trend of thought always like to hold clubs and labels in their hands and at the slightest provocation hit people with raising things to the plane of principles and the two-line struggle. They clubbed works to death and labeled authors to death. Whether a work is good or bad and a polemic on a question of theory cannot be brought to a correct conclusion at one stroke. Sometimes it is only with the tests of time and practice that good and bad can be distinguished from each other and right and wrong be cleaned up. An ultraleft trend of thought is just the opposite from this. In matters of academic debate, it does not develop artistic democracy but rather carries out the work style of a despot, making linkages willy-nilly, either linking things to bourgeois thought or pinning them as a revisionist trend of thought. It does not do an all-round, concrete analysis of works but subjectively and arbitrarily exaggerates isolated flaws into errors of the entirety. As a result, artistic questions and political questions become muddled together as do the two different kinds of contradictions. Precisely because of this the ultraleft trend of thought often claims that good is bad, views truth as falsehood and identifies fragrant flowers as poisonous weeds. An ultraleft trend of thought also forms a hideous style of writing in literary and artistic theory and criticism.

We must therefore consider this question: why has an ultraleft trend of thought appeared again and again, until finally Lin Biao and the "gang of four" made use of it? Why is it so difficult to purge the poisonous influence of the ultraleft line? Lin Biao and the "gang of four" trampled in the garden for a decade. If we consider that this is simply due to several bad

people it would be to oversimplify the problem of understanding. For the past several years in our revolutionary literary and art movements, dogmatism and sectarianism have continually played a role, sometimes hidden and sometimes apparent. The ultraleft trend of thought has its historical and social roots. During the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" teamed up to make use of the ultraleft trend of thought and carry it to an extreme. They had a particular position and usurped a very high position of authority. This, combined with the particular political environment of the Cultural Revolution, created a particularly great danger. Besides its social roots, the reason the ultraleft trend of thought grew so in intensity was related to this political environment. Political struggle of necessity affects struggles in the literary and art circles. With this kind of background of political struggle, the danger of an ultraleft trend of thought appeared especially prominent. The reason there was a market for the ultraleft trend of thought was also related to some of our leaders lacking a correct knowledge of the laws of art. In speeches on the question of literature and art, Comrade Zhou Enlai repeatedly stressed that we must respect the laws of art. In the past, literary and art circles discussed this question very rarely or did not dare to discuss it, always leaving aside the special characteristics of art, mechanically and simplistically making demands on literature and art with some political concepts. This always led them to make mistakes. Since you did not understand the characteristics and laws of art, you could incorrectly view works which originally were good as bad.

We stress that we must pay serious attention to the ultraleft trend of thought. Of course we cannot relax our vigilance towards rightist thinking, cast doubt on or deny the four fundamental principles, not want to travel the socialist road and not want the leading people of the party, nor can we underestimate the danger of these things. However, interference of the right is still relatively easy to detect, while the interference of the "left" always raises the banner of "revolution" to delude people. Because of this we must be especially vigilant towards the interference of the ultraleft trend of thought.

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CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

READERS' LEGAL QUESTIONS ANSWERED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Nov 79 p 3

[Special Column, "Legal Adviser"]

[Text] Editor's Note: Four issues of the Shanghai journal "Democracy and Law" have appeared since it began publication in August. It has been run in a lively manner and has been very well received by the masses. Readers particularly love reading the special column "Legal Adviser," which answers letters from the masses. We have selected several of these to publish here.

Can One on Probation Who Behaves Relatively Well Be Exempt from Punishment?

Letter

Comrade Editor:

A physician in our factory's clinic was sentenced and placed on probation in the past because of malpractice. Now she is doing very well in her work. Not only does she seriously assume her responsibility for treating the staff and workers in the factory, but after her shift is over she often does house calls at the homes of some of the families of staff and workers who have difficulty getting about. She is not concerned about being paid, and does not accept gifts. The workers in our factory are all very moved by this, and a number of us are thinking of writing a joint letter to request the court to lift her probationary punishment. Because we do not understand the law, we do not know whether or not this would be appropriate.

Gong Fukang and 10 others

Reply

Comrades Gong Fukang et al.:

In the situation reflected in your letter, we feel that there is no need to send a joint letter to the court requesting a release from the probationary punishment. This is because probation itself is not a kind of punishment but a trial period for the person under sentence. Since this physician in your factory has not committed another crime during her probationary period, once her term is up, the original sentence will not be reinstated. No question arises here of a reduction or suspension of sentence. On the other hand, what is necessary is if you can do some propaganda in the factory that one should not look down on a comrade who has been declared to have a probationary sentence. And if the physician is still anxious and fearful, you should do good ideological work with her and let her cast off her mind's burdens, continue to strive and do her work even better.

Is It Shielding a Criminal for a Communist Party Member to Plead for an Accused Older Sister?

Letter

Comrade Editor:

I am a primary school teacher and a member of the Communist Party. My older sister is an uneducated working woman. A quarrel broke out between her and her mother-in-law over the question of ownership of the eggs laid by the ducks they raised. The mother-in-law took this too hard and poisoned herself to death. Because of this, my older sister was arrested by the public security bureau and the procuratorate is prosecuting her in court. As there are no lawyers to ask in our village, my older sister entrusted me to defend her. However, my girlfriend (a teacher in my school) and her father (a commune cadre) are both resolutely opposed to my acting in my sister's defense. They feel that if I plead for my sister it will be shielding a criminal and a sign that I have lost my class stand. I am afraid of committing an error which would involve my girlfriend's future. This is getting me very depressed. Please tell me: is it shielding a criminal for a Communist Party member to plead for his relatives? May I defend my older sister?

Sun Yuhua

Reply

Comrade Sun Yuhua:

According to the spirit stipulated in Articles 16 and 58 of China's Criminal Suit Law, it is entirely permissible for your sister to entrust you to act in her defense and for you to be a close family member.

The reason your girlfriend and her father are concerned about your committing an error and are resolutely opposed to your serving in defense, I'm afraid, is mainly because they still do not sufficiently understand the

the system of defense laid down in China's laws. You may explain to them that one who is accused is not the same as a criminal. "The responsibility of a defense counsel is, in accordance with the facts and the law, to raise information and opinions which prove the defendant is without guilt or less guilty or which mitigate or remove his or her responsibility for the crime, and to protect the legal rights of the defendant." This is an explicit stipulation of the law. The right to counsel is an important right provided a defendant by the law. The viewpoint is mistaken which considers "accused" equivalent to "criminal" and "plead for" equivalent to "shield a criminal." Of course, one who acts as a defense counsel should seek truth from facts and not manufacture facts or distort the law in order to remove the criminal responsibility from the accused. With this proviso, not only should you not fear pleading for your sister, you should appear in court in your sister's defense with justice on your side.

Is a Son Obligated to Repay Debts Incurred by His Father while He Was Alive?

Letter

Comrade Editor:

Zhang X X was a friend of my father while the latter was still alive. Not long ago he came to my house and claimed that my father, while he was alive, had borrowed over 300 yuan from him but had not repaid it. He asked me to clear this debt in place of my father. But my father departed over a year ago and did not mention this matter before his death, and Zhang X X did not present any thorough evidence to substantiate that my father actually owed him the money. I feel extremely awkward. Please tell me: am I obligated to repay this money?

Jin Xiaoyun

Reply

Comrade Jin Xiaoyun:

The common practice is that if after the father dies his property is inherited by a son, the son is obligated to repay in his place those debts incurred by the father when he was alive. But in the situation you describe, your father did not tell you of this debt obligation in his waning moments, and the creditor has neither personal nor material evidence to prove the debt relationship. If these really are the facts, you may refuse to repay this sum of money.

Should the Wages of People Who Are Sentenced and Placed on Probation Be Issued as Before?

Letter

Comrade Editor:

An explosion in my shop injured a good number of people and created very large losses to the state. Because of this, the head of our shop was sentenced to a fixed term and placed on probation. He is still the head of our shop and is very energetic in his work. Each month our shop exceeds its production tasks. Quite recently, while studying the new laws, a dispute arose among the workers over the question of his wage remuneration. Some said that since his duties had not changed and he was active in his work, his wages should be the same as before. Yet others said that since he was sentenced and placed on probation, his wages should be reduced correspondingly and that if his wages were issued as before it would be in violation of the law. Which of these is correct?

Kong Yonghua

Comrade Kong Yonghua:

In accordance with the fundamental spirit of China's criminal law, we feel that one who is sentenced and then placed on probation, if he is not stripped of his political rights, may still be responsible for his original duties at his original work unit. If he is not additionally punished organizationally through a reduction in salary, we cannot consider this to be in violation of the law. Since the head of your shop has retained his original work duties and is still equal to the task, he should be issued his original wage. Of course, if the person who is punished has been stripped of his political rights and cannot assume his original duties, the principle of distribution according to labor requires us to issue him wages appropriate to his new duties.

Does "Education and Release" Count as Punishment for a Crime?

Letter

Comrade Editor:

Before our factory smashed the "gang of four," a good number of workers were implicated in an accident involving a secret product. They were apprehended by the military control groups of the public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts and later sentenced as "this was no accident, but since investigation reveals no evidence, educate and release the suspect and see how he behaves." From what we know, there are people who have been treated this way in other factories. Please tell us whether or not to count this in the histories of these people as a punishment for a crime.

Bao Nanfang

Reply

Comrade Bao Nanfang:

China's criminal law does not have this kind of penalty. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running amok, it was not exceptional for people to be declared "no accident but no evidence, so educate and release." We feel that if the court hears the case and ascertains that there really was no criminal behavior, no matter what the defects or errors of the accused, they should all be clearly pronounced innocent. Henceforth we should never again use verdicts like "educate and release."

May a Criminal Element Sentenced to Being Placed under Surveillance Draw Work Points Like Other Commune Members?

Letter

Comrade Editor:

Ding Hu in our production team is a criminal element who has been sentenced to being placed under surveillance. He works the same as other commune members, and sometimes even a bit more. Please tell us whether or not people like Ding Hu may draw work points like other commune members. Is there a stipulation on this in the law? Please explain.

Wang Genfu

Reply

Comrade Wang Genfu:

According to the provisions of Article 34 of the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China, "Criminal elements who have been sentenced to being placed under surveillance should receive equal pay for equal work." Ding Hu in your team should draw work points just like other commune members.

Should Seniority Be Counted for Workers and Staff Who Are on Probation?

Letter

Comrade Editor:

In my factory there is an experienced worker who behaves conscientiously, is diligent and conscientious in his work and whose productive labor is very good, but once a serious accident happened due principally to his negligence and a number of people were crippled as a result. Because of this, the court sentenced him to a fixed term and placed him on probation. During the probationary period he has not committed any error, and he regularly goes after work to take care of our crippled comrades. The masses have a very

good opinion of him as well. Please tell me whether or not this veteran worker may accumulate seniority during his probationary period.

Qian Yingren

Reply

Comrade Qian Yingren:

According to the provisions of China's relevant policies and decrees, probation during a fixed term sentence is only suitable to defendants from among the masses of the people who have committed ordinary crimes, where the circumstances of the case are not too serious, where there is no danger from being placed in society after probation is declared and when the masses have no objections. According to the situation described in your letter, this experienced worker who was placed on probation committed a common crime among the masses of the people, was sentenced to a fixed term, was not stripped of his political rights and is still working in his original work unit. Thus he may accumulate seniority during his probationary period.

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